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BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF INDIA,

88370

WITH

EXTRACTS FROM A JOURNAL KEPT IN THE PROVINCES, NEPAL, &c.

By Sir ERSKINE PERRY, M.P.

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PREFACE.

The first part of this little publication contains the substance of two lectures which I had purported to deliver to my constituents at Devonport. My object was to convey as accurate an idea of the outside of India, of that which first strikes the eye of a traveller, as my space and powers would permit. Circumstances, however, having frustrated my intention, I have thrown my notes into the present form, with the hope of fostering the desire to know more of India, which appears to be growing up in the present age. With the same intention I have subjoined some extracts from a journal which I made during one of my vacation trips. An Indian Judge especially on the Bombay bench, has great facilities for seeing different parts of the country during the intervals between business; and by travelling light, I contrived to see most parts of India and Ceylon during my sojourn, extending over eleven years and a half in the East. I have thought that the daily

record of an Indian march, though it consisted of mere rude notes jotted down by the wayside, might be interesting to English travellers who should contemplate a three or four months' trip in India.

I have also added an Essay on the geographical distribution of the languages of India, which appeared in a scientific journal at Bombay.

HACKNESS HALL, 1855.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

Page

INTRODUCTION.—Brahmun View of Teaching.—Object of Lecture.—Interest of India to Englishmen 1

CHAPTER II.

GENERAL APPEARANCE.—Surface of India.—Divisible into three Portions—Hindustan—Deccan—The Concans and Carnatic. 4

CHAPTER III.

MOUNTAINS.—Vindhya Mountains.—Aravuli.—Mount Abu.—The Ghâts.—The Western Ghâts.—Himalayah.—India divisible into Zones. 9

CHAPTER IV.

SUPPLY OF WATER.—Monsoon Rains.—Setting in of the Monsoon 16

CHAPTER V.

CLIMATE.—India approached from the Sea 21

CHAPTER VI.

PRODUCTIONS.—Productions of India.—Tin.—Cinnamon.—Ophir of Scripture.—Pepper and Spices.—Cotton.—Sugar—Oranges.—Pearls.—Diamonds.—Gems of Ceylon.—Localities of precious Products.—Cinnamon.—Cardamoms. Teak.—Cotton Zone.—Food of Inhabitants . . . 25

CHAPTER VII.

ANIMALS.—The Elephant.—The Tiger.—Indian Lion.—Wild Ass 35

CHAPTER VIII.

END OF FIRST LECTURE 40

CHAPTER IX. Page

Inhabitants of India.—Their numbers.—Hindus.—Mussalmans.—Parsis.—Jews, &c.—Importance of Hindu Element . 42

CHAPTER X.

Early Civilisation of India.—Æra of Chándragupta.—Account of Buddha.—Date of Vedas 48

CHAPTER XI.

Religion of the Hindus.—Tendency to change.—Difficulties for Missionaries.—Account of Swinging Festival . . . 55

CHAPTER XII.

Casts.—Brahmans.—Tendency to subdivision of Casts . . 64

CHAPTER XIII.

Physical Appearance of Inhabitants of India.—Manners.—Dress.—Food.—Social Life.—Morals 69

CHAPTER XIV.

Hindu Marriages.—Expences of Marriage.—Polygamy.—Polyandry.—Nair Marriages 79

CHAPTER XV.

Self Government among the Hindus.—Organisation of Hindu Village.—Duties of a Hindu Sovereign 85

CHAPTER XVI.

Influence of the English in India.—Public Works.—Education.—Christianity.—Future of India 93

PART II.

JOURNAL OF A VACATION TRIP IN INDIA, THROUGH RAJPUTANA, THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES, AND NEPAL.

CHAPTER XVII.

MODES OF TRAVELLING IN INDIA.—Journey from Bombay to Baroda 98

CHAPTER XVIII.

Baroda.—The Gáikwár's Levee.—Elephant Fight . . . 104

CHAPTER XIX. Page

Long Ride before Breakfast.—Details of Cortège on march.—Description of Gujarát.—Man murdered on line of march. 111

CHAPTER XX.

Description of Rajput Villages.—Bhil Aborigines.—Architectural Wells 118

CHAPTER XXI.

Early Morning Bath.—Advantages of Hindu Temples to Travellers.—Lake and Town of Salumba 122

CHAPTER XXII.

The Deybar Lake.—Rao of Salumba.—Brahman Hospitality.—Rajput Architecture 126

CHAPTER XXIII.

Udipur.—Visit to Rana.—Rajput Architecture.—Day's Hog-Shooting.—Old Capital of Rajputs.—Chitore.—Idleness of Rajputs 130

CHAPTER XXIV.

Nusserabad.—Hospitality of Capt. Maitland.—Ajmir.—Col. Lowe.—Jaipur.—Native Government 140

CHAPTER XXV.

Effects of Native Government in Rajputana.—Fine Tomb at Futtehpur.—Agra.—The Táj 145

CHAPTER XXVI.

Muttra.—The Mathura of the Hindus.—The Holy Bindrában.—Delhi 151

CHAPTER XXVII.

Umbála.—Snowy Range.—Excellent Roads of Upper Provinces.—Change Route to Nepál and the Eastward.—Sáháranpur.—Native Witnesses.—Meerut 158

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Cawnpur.—Improving State of Country.—Lucknow.—Elephant Fight.—Visit to King 163

CHAPTER XXIX.

Lucknow.—Establishment founded by Gene[redacted] of kingdom of Oude

CHAPTER XXX. Page

Journal through Oude to Nepal.—Indigo Planters.—The Ancient Ayodha or Oudh.—Gorackpur.—Opium Cultivation 179

CHAPTER XXXI.

Ascent to the Valley of Nepal.—Valley of Katmandu.—Revenues of Nepal.—Account of Terai 186

CHAPTER XXXII.

Massacre of Nobles in Nepal.—Jung Bahadur 194

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Suttee in Nepal.—Sequel of the Nepal Revolution.—Appearance of the Gorkhas.—Visit to Jung Bahadur . . . 201

CHAPTER XXXIV.

View of Dwala-giri and the Snowy Range.—Budhist Temple . 209

CHAPTER XXXV.

Departure from Nepal.—Descent through the Fever Passes.—Description of Terai 214

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Benares.—English College erecting.—Temples.—Wealth of Benares.—Anglo-Indian Registration 217

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Improvement of Gorakpur under the English.—Leave Benares for Calcutta.—Appearance of Bahar.—Employment of Brahmans 223

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Native Gratitude to English Benefactors 229

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Arrival at Calcutta.—Voyage to Bombay.—Indian Confessions. 233

CHAPTER XL.

The Languages of India 241

CHAPTER XLI.

[redacted] France in India 266

A

BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

Brahman View of Teaching.—Object of Lecture.—Interest of India to Englishmen.

THE Brahmans of India have laid down, amongst other remarkable doctrines, that the highest duty which belongs to them as a sacred order is gratuitous teaching. It appears to me that this ancient dogma of a civilisation three thousand years old is rapidly diffusing itself in England, and that it is beginning to be felt that those possessed of leisure can propose to themselves no more gracious task than an attempt to spread information, or to awaken the taste for intellectual inquiries amongst their contemporaries. Impressed with this conviction, I did not consider myself at liberty to refuse the request of my constituents to appear before them as a lecturer; and I have selected a subject on which I necessarily know something, and which in my own bosom

awakens a never-flagging interest, that I would fain communicate to others.

For what is it that I propose to put before you in its most salient features? One of the fairest regions of God's earth, nearly equal in extent and population to Europe,—peopled by one hundred and sixty millions of no savage or uncultivated race, but heirs of a civilisation which extends to the remotest antiquity, —the birthplace of two religious creeds which still number as their votaries the majority of mankind, —a land richer in productions, more blessed in climate, and higher endowed with grand natural features of mountain and of stream than any country in the world. India, to all antiquity, so far as history bears record, was ever an object of the deepest interest, not unaccompanied with mystery; and in the present day, when our lengthened connection with the country, and the progress of scientific inquiry connected with the early history of the human race, are continually bringing new facts to light, it is found that the interest as well as the mystery investing this Land of the Sun proportionably increases. But to inhabitants of the British Islands, who reflect that to them it is given under Providence to sway the destinies, either for weal or for woe, of this great Asiatic empire, India forces itself on their attention, not only as a subject of mere scholarly curiosity, but as connected with vast interests affecting the welfare of mankind, in which every Englishman may aspire to take an active part, and as to which, therefore, every Englishman should instruct himself.

Within the brief limits of a lecture I cannot hope, and consequently shall not attempt, to do more than awaken an interest in my theme, so as to stimulate further inquiries; and all that I aim to put before you at the present moment is what I may call an eye-picture of sunny Hindustan.

CHAPTER II.

GENERAL APPEARANCE.

Surface of India.—Divisible into three Portions—Hindustan—Deccan —The Concans and Carnatic.

On studying the map of India with attention it will be found that Sir William Jones's illustration of the four-sided figure called by mathematicians a trapezium gives the best general idea of the country. Now, if in this trapezium a diameter be drawn from the mouths of the Indus to the mouths of the Brahmaputra, two irregular triangles will be formed, each of which contains a country with distinct characters of its own as to geological formation, profile of surface, climate, and races of inhabitants. The northern triangle, whose apex approaches Ladák, is a country emphatically of plains, and in India it bears the name of Hindustan, which it received from its Mogol invaders, its ancient denomination amongst Hindu geographers being Aria-varta, *i.e.*, the land of the Aryans, and Jambudwipa, or country of the Jambu, or love-apple. The triangle to the south comprises the country usually called the Peninsula of India, or the Deccan, from Dakshina,* or "the

* This is Lassen's derivation.—Bohlen and Ritter derive it from Dakshin, "south;" Sanscrit, Dakshinapatha, "the land to the south," with which agrees the Δαχιναβάδης of Arrian. See Ritter, iv. 1, 424.

right," being the country to the right-hand of a pious Hindu when he is saluting the rising sun. It is essentially in its masses a table-land, from one thousand to three thousand feet high, and is supported by two vast mountain ranges skirting the sea-coast on either side called the Eastern and Western Ghâts. Between these mountains and the sea, strips of land intervene, varying from ten to one hundred miles in breadth, and containing in their limits, especially on the western shore, sufficiently marked natural features and physical boundaries, to have given to their inhabitants, their languages, and manners, a distinct character from those of the plains above them. Geographers have no name for such strips of land, not unfrequent on the earth's surface, intervening between a range of mountains parallel to the sea and the coast-line; but if we apply the denomination which is used in Western India, Concan, to describe such a portion of country, we shall be able under the terms Hindustan, the Deccan, and the Concans, to form to ourselves clear general ideas of the general surface of India, excluding its mountain ranges. Now, if we attend carefully to this natural configuration of the country, we shall find much to explain the early civilisation of India, and its diffusion from a common centre. Northern India, or Hindustan, is extra-tropical, and throughout the greater part of its extent is as level as a bowling-green. By certain geological agencies whose history is being carefully investigated by observers, its surface has been covered with a rich

friable soil, and the mighty range of Himála to the north pours down upon it waters which probably are unequalled on the earth's surface for fertilising effects. It is clear, therefore, that no country in the world offered greater advantages for the development of the energies of man, or for the early growth of civilisation. For, although some countries, such as Greece and Italy, by their extended and deeply-indented coast-lines, offered immense encouragement to one of the greatest elements of progress—inter-communication between man and man—Hindustan, by its navigable rivers, and by the vast plains which I have spoken of, whose level and unwooded surface no rains during nine months of the year disturbed, offered an easier intercourse between different parts of the country in the earliest times than exists to this day in many parts of Europe, or even between different parishes in England. The plains of Hindustan, therefore, were always traversable in all directions by armies, travellers, merchants, and as an illustration of this facility, I may mention that when I was at Nussirabad, in Central India, in 1850, an officer, who had been ordered to join one of our newly-acquired stations in the Punjab, 1100 miles distant, was about to drive his wife there in a one-horse chaise, with as much nonchalance as if he were starting from Devonport for the midland counties in England.

The Deccan, on the other hand, with its high table-land, with a sterile soil, in which the rock comes close to the surface, protruding itself through-

out the northerly portions in the step-shaped elevations peculiar to the trap formation, while in the south granite predominates, and the process is seen almost visible to the eye whereby the decomposing agencies of nature are gradually rendering a mountain surface fit for the purposes of man,—the Deccan, with but scanty fall of annual rain, and rivers few in number, finding their way to the coast in deep channels, and therefore unsuitable to irrigation,—the Deccan was not organised physically to take a lead among the nations, and its destiny has been to receive its civilisation from without.

In the Concans, by which I include Malabar, Orissa, and the Carnatic, a wholly different nature prevails; along these favoured strips, rich soil, heavy annual rains, and the drainage of the mountain ranges by which they are bounded, encourage a vegetation more varied, and, in parts, more abundant, than any Hindustan can offer. Moreover, its summer seas, and equable monsoon winds, offered channels of intercourse along the coast equally traversable with those of Northern India; and here also we find early empires in Gujarat, in Malabar, in Coromandel, and Orissa, sending out their colonies and their civilisation to other parts of the East. More inland, however, and approaching the magnificent ranges of the Ghâts, especially on the western coast, nature has maintained her empire; primæval forest still clothes the sides and the valleys of these stupendous mountains; the wild elephant, and almost wilder races of men, range undisturbed amongst them; the

most exquisite and romantic scenery greets the eye at every turn, and an enterprising traveller may still find many a district where no European has yet placed his foot.

CHAPTER III.

MOUNTAINS.

Vindhya Mountains. — Aravulli. — Mount Abu. — The Ghâts.— Western Ghâts.—Himalayah.—India divisible into Zones.

If I have succeeded in implanting in your minds some leading ideas as to the general configuration of India,—the north, with its fertile, well-watered plains; the south, with an elevated and sterile table-land, and rich Concans encompassing its base; I must call your attention to the different mountain ranges by which these clearly-marked natural divisions are separated from one another.

The Vindhya system of mountains, with its various branches and the table-land it supports on either side, deserves the particular attention of the Indian geographer. The main range of these mountains trends in a north-easterly direction from the Gulf of Cambay towards the Ganges, which they strike in the bold elevations known as the Rajmahal Hills. The great central table-land to the eastward, in which the Vindhyan Hills lose themselves, and where, about Omurkuntuk, the Sone running to the north-east, and the Nurbudda* running to the Gulf of Cambay,

* From Narmadâ, (Sanscrit,) "the pleasure-giver." Lassen, Indisch. Altert. i. 87.

have their sources, has been as yet unexplored by Europeans. Indeed, in this vast plateau, which to the north and east hangs over Bengal and Orissa, and to the south forms the northern extremity of the Deccan, it will be seen that in the best maps large blanks occur; and, in fact, in these wild districts, which usually pass under the name Gondwana, civilisation never seems to have planted its foot. Wild tribes, such as Gonds, Kolés, and Chohans, alone tenant their fastnesses; and it is from these localities that the sensitive ear of Europe is often shocked by the sound of human sacrifices. From this central table-land in the east, the Vindhya system, as it may be called, sends out three ranges towards the west, the most northerly of which only is called by Hindus the Vindhya, the next being the Satpura Mountains, which divide the Nurbudda from the Tapti, and the most southerly being the Mahadeo Hills. On the north-west of the Vindhya, a rather complicated system of mountains, with table-lands, exists, forming an extensive country of such marked characters as always to have received a distinct name, being called Madhya-Désa, or the midland counties, by old Hindu geographers, and Central India by the English.

The range called the Aravulli, which in strictness belongs to the Vindhyan system, deserves a particular notice. It runs south and north between 24° and 28° N.L. from the neighbourhood of Ahmedabad towards the banks of the Jumna near Delhi, and traverses the land of the Rajputs, those heroes of Hindu chivalry whose exploits and wild legends have

been so worthily chronicled by the enthusiastic Colonel Tod.

To their system belongs, although an outlying hill, Abu, most romantic of mountains, and holiest spot on earth in Hindu-Jain estimation; whose summit, 5000 feet high, is covered with exquisite vegetation, in which white and yellow jasmin and wild roses predominate, where every glen and knoll has its tradition and romance, and where the Jain temples of white marble offer examples of architectural decoration which, probably, are unequalled in the world for elaboration and costliness. The Aravulli, besides affording a nucleus round which the highland chiefs and clans forming the Rajput nations have developed themselves, and preserved their independence during thousands of years, plays also a most important part in Indian geography by opposing a physical barrier to the extension of the great desert which lies between the Indus and Hindustan.

It will be seen, therefore, that the base line of the two triangles which I have spoken of, and which divides the plains of Hindustan from Central India and the Deccan, is no mere mountain ridge, like the Pyrences, but a complicated mountain system, with various plateaus extending over a large surface of country.

I have already mentioned that the table-land of Southern India is supported on the east and west by the mountains called Ghâts, which are parallel to the sea on either coast; but this general description is not strictly accurate, either as to the western or

eastern range. For the Western Ghâts, which spring from the banks of the Tapti in 21° N.L., in their course towards Cape Comorin are interrupted by a remarkable gap not more than fifteen miles wide, and which connects the lowlands at the mouth of the Cáveri in the Bay of Bengal with the plains on the coast of Malabar. The Eastern Ghâts, on the other hand, do not extend further south than 12° N.L. and the level country between the mountains and the sea called, though improperly, the Carnatic,* expands into the fertile districts watered by the Cáveri and Coleroon, and extends westward to the foot of a range of very lofty and little explored mountains which terminate the Western Ghâts in their course from the gap at Ponany to Cape Comorin.

Of these two ranges, the Western Ghâts are by far the most distinctly marked; their elevation also is greater, attaining between 9000 and 10,000 feet in the group called the Nilghiries (or Blue Hills), more romantic in scenery, and, from their abrupt presentation towards the west, to which, in nautical phrase, they lie "steep to," they form a more distinct natural boundary than the eastern range, which, with the whole plateau, as may be seen from its watercourses, is tilted up towards the west, and sinks down more insensibly to the level of the coast.

I have now only left me the Himalayah Mountains, for I dismiss the Suleiman and Hála ranges

* From Karnataka—"the land of the Kanari," or Canarese; but Canarese is the language of the table-land, or Deccan, and over the level lands of the Carnatic, Tamil is the language of the people.

on the west of the Indus, as belonging more strictly, both in respect of the races who inhabit them and of the languages there spoken, to Persia than to India; and for the same reason, I pass over the mountain ridge which forms the backbone as it were of the Malay peninsula, for it is connected with races and civilisation wholly distinct from those of India,—viz., the Chinese and Malay. But how to describe, in a brief sentence or two, the Himalayah, the most magnificent mountain range in the world? To those who have wandered through hill countries, it is well known that no description, and even no picture, can convey an adequate idea of the feelings of awe and reverence which a grand mountain scene impresses on the mind. Transported on a sudden from the prosy levels of everyday life to sites where mortal foot "hath ne'er or rarely been," the beholder finds himself face to face with nature in her wildest moods; and on contemplating the gigantic forms, the death-like silence, the visions of beauty and grandeur around him, the most insensible mind expands under the influence of the locality, and warms into aspirations and yearnings for something sublimer, holier, lovelier, than anything yet met with on earth. Such at least were my feelings when, standing on a mountain ridge ten thousand feet high, I looked down on one side into the semi-tropical valley of Nepal, and on the other beheld the magnificent snowy range springing up at my feet, with Dewala-giri apparently within an easy walk, and the whole range occupying a sky-line in the horizon of nearly a third of a quadrant.

For many years it was a matter of controversy as to the site of the highest mountain in the world; but no doubt now exists that the Himalayah contains many summits towering far above any other known elevation; and the late measurements of Dr. Hooker seem to crown Kanchanjunga as the monarch of mountains, with an elevation above the sea of more than five perpendicular miles (28,178 feet) In a general sketch of India, however, it is sufficient to note of the Himalayah that it acts as a complete barrier between India and the rest of continental Asia, dividing entirely the animal and vegetable kingdoms, and also the races of man who are to be found on either side of the chain. The country thus dissevered from the mass of Asia seems to owe chiefly to the Himalayah the fact of its having obtained a homogeneous character, which, notwithstanding the remarkable differences between plains and highlands which I have described, and the not less signal distinction between the languages and races to be found in Northern and Southern India, has always presented to the world a clear geographical idea under the term India; although there is no trace in history of this country ever having been under the rule of any one power, and, indeed, it seems certain that the dominion of England approaches far nearer to a universal empire in India than any that has hitherto existed.

It may be now seen that the grand natural features of India enable the country to be divided into several distinct zones, each having a character of its own. They may be enumerated as follows:—

1. The southern slope of the Himalayah, with the elevated valleys of Cashmire and Nepal.

2. The *Doabs*,* or land included between the Ganges and Jumna and the different rivers of the Panjab.

3. The great Indian Desert.

4. The valley of the Ganges as far as the Rajmahal Hills, forming Hindustan Proper.

5. Central India, including Mewar, Malwa, Bundelcund, and the Aravulli, with the Vindhya, and its associated and parallel ranges.

6. Bengal, the lower part of which is subject to the inundation of the Ganges and Brahmaputra, and which, from its distinct character to Upper India, has always been treated by Hindu geographers as a separate country from Hindustan.

7. Gujarat, which also has a well-marked character of its own, though its scenery, climate, productions, and abundance of water in pools or lakes, render it not dissimilar to Tirhut.

8. The central, wild, and unexplored country called Gondwána, forming in mass part of the table-land to the south.

9. The Deccan.

10. The comparatively level lands between the east and west Ghâts and the two seas called Orissa and the Carnatic in the Bay of Bengal, the Concans; Canara, and Malabar, in the Indian Ocean.

* Literally, "two-waters," from *do quasi duo*, two, and *ab*, water; *panj ab*, five waters, from *panj*, πέντε, five.

CHAPTER IV.

SUPPLY OF WATER.

Monsoon Rains.—Setting in of the Monsoon.

But to appreciate fully the appearance of India, the character of its productions, and the advantages it possesses over most other tropical countries, it is necessary to concentrate the attention on the supply of water which falls to its lot. It will be found that on the whole it is singularly fortunate in this respect; for though in the Deccan the supply is scanty, and in the Indian Desert almost null, still, when compared with other countries in the same latitude, such as Northern Australia and great parts of Africa, there does not appear to be any part of the world presenting such a large surface for production to the joint influence of a tropical sun and periodical rains. We are so used in England to the continued supply of rain during the year, and in our climate the rays of the sun have such little power, that we can but ill appreciate, without having seen it, what sun and water can effect in the torrid zone.

Land in India, speaking generally, does not appear to be more fertile than in Europe, and it bears usually but one crop a year. But wherever the supply of water is copious, either from the inunda-

tion of rivers; as in Lower Bengal, or from the retentive character of the soil, as in Gujarat, and Tirhut, or from the copious supply from the heavens, as in Malabar, there appears to be no limits to the productive qualities of the land.

The greater part of India, all, in fact, except the Carnatic and southern portions of the Deccan, is watered during the south-west monsoon, or local trade-wind, which prevails in June, July, August, and September. Great differences, however, occur, both in the amount of rain that falls, and in the use that is made of it. At Bombay, for example, the amount of rain in the four months is about eighty inches, —on the mountain tops overhanging Bombay about two hundred and eighty inches fall during the same period, and twenty-four inches have been recorded during a single night (thirty-one inches being the average fall in England throughout the whole year); on the other hand, on the table-land above the mountains, the fall is not more than twenty-five to thirty inches; the Western Ghâts having acted as a wall on which the fury of the heavily charged water-clouds coming up from the south-west has expended itself. The eighty inches of rain, however, which fall on the Bombay coast are not equal in value to the fifty inches which fall in the Madras Carnatic, or to the thirty inches which fall in Gujarat. For the trap-rock which forms the substratum in Bombay and its adjoining coast does not lend itself to the construction of tanks, as the water is apt to escape along the joints and faults in the formation;

whereas in the Carnatic, the soil being decomposed, granite possesses excellent holding qualities, and accordingly grand constructions in masonry for the retention of the annual supply, have marked the existence of every good government. In Gujarat, on the other hand, where there is a soil forty feet deep without a single pebble, and very little elevation above the sea, every drop of water that falls is stored by nature for future use, and the expenditure of a few shillings gives the thriving Gujarat farmer a well in every field.

Such being the important part which water plays in India, it may easily be imagined with what interest the annual fall of rain is regarded; for, like the rising of the Nile, the tropical rains are variable in their character; but a short monsoon in India is famine, and if two dry seasons follow in succession as has occasionally happened, scenes of misery, and of wide-spread destruction of human life occur, such as no other part of the world ever witnesses. In the island of Bombay, in which I lived for nearly twelve years, six hundred thousand persons are congregated together, wholly dependent on the annual fall of rain, for there is not a single stream or spring in the island. Towards the end of the dry season considerable distress is always felt by the poor, and the greater part of the day is spent by portions of their families in visiting one tank after another to obtain a scanty supply. Then it is that great engineering schemes are devised for aqueducts and waterworks; philanthropists make suggestions; journalists are heard to thunder, and

the government sits benignant listening to plans and estimates,—but the annual rains at last make their appearance, and all is washed out and forgotten till the ensuing dry season. The setting in of the moonsoon, as it is called, or the commencement of the annual rains, is a grand meteorological phenomenon in Western India, and has often been described. In Bombay, towards the end of May, when the sun is nearly vertical, the sea-breeze from the west, which up to that time had blown strongly throughout the day, ceases, and either a languid air from the south, or more frequently a complete lull, prevails. The earth unrefreshed by a single shower for eight long months is bare of all vegetation, and even the palms which hug the sea-shore in dense profusion, present an adust drooping appearance affording no relief to the brown umber tint of the landscape. Towards sunset masses of clouds of gigantic and most varied forms are seen rolling up from the south in an upper current of the air, and settling themselves on the crest of the mountains. Some of them fleecy, sparkling, diaphanous, speak of deepest summer; others highly charged with electricity, present the lurid hues so often precursors of a hurricane; while mixed with these, gradually overwhelming and enveloping them all is the storm-cloud, black, heavy, and portentous. Vivid flashes of lightning, legible as the writing on the wall, play from one mountain summit to another; and an inexperienced observer thinks that the long-looked for storm is imminent. But an hour or two clears

the whole heavens, and one of those beautiful tropical nights succeeds, which, whether with the moon culminating straight over head, or with the brilliant constellations visible near the equator, offer visions of loveliness that I never see equalled in more northern latitudes. Evenings such as these occur for days and days together, affording at every sunset views of the mountain range, and of the neighbouring sea and land-locked harbour, unequalled at any other period of the year, and which, with their highest qualities of glowing tint and sharpness of outline, do not last more than ten minutes at a time in all the intensity of their beauty. At length the atmosphere becomes so completely charged with vapour that the catastrophe can no longer be delayed, and the burst commences. Sometimes, perhaps generally, with a violent thunder-storm; sometimes for I have observed many varieties of the commencement of the monsoon, with a gentle shower, which gradually increases until it assumes the character of a steady continuous down-pour, such as may be seen occasionally in southern Europe, but of which we have no experience in England. In a few days the whole face of nature assumes a different hue; the brown parched appearance so characteristic of the East during a great portion of the year, yields to tints of the tenderest green, and vegetation shoots forth in every form, and in most unexpected localities.

CHAPTER V.

CLIMATE.

India approached from the Sea.

THE annual fall of rain is closely connected with the climate of India, for the rainy season forms by far the most distinct change in the weather, which prevails during other portions of the year.

There are usually three seasons assigned to India, the hot, the cold, and the rainy; but this is not a very correct division. Coldish weather, it is true, prevails for some months in Upper India, and even in such low latitudes as Calcutta and Bombay broadcloth is willingly adopted instead of cottons and calicoes during December and January; still, in most parts of India, there is a hot season both before and after the rains, and in the South no cold season can be said to exist. Such as it is, however, I do not hesitate to pronounce that the Indian climate is one of the most enjoyable in the world; too hot no doubt for a restless Anglo-Saxon temperament, but yet not sufficiently hot to repress as energetic action and as unremitting attention, either to duty or to sport, as England's sons exhibit in any portion of the globe. But for the natives of the soil, when I look at the general salubrity of the climate, the facility with which the

necessaries, and, in the simple diet of the Hindu, even the luxuries of life are procurable, the absence of all those carking cares which the want of fuel, of sufficient clothing, and of warm well-ventilated dwellings occasions in colder latitudes, I have often thought that there is no region on earth, where a poor man's lot may be cast more happily than in India.

When the leading facts, as to the elevation of different parts of India above the sea, and as to the diffusion and supply of water, are fully appreciated, it is not difficult to form in the mind sufficiently accurate pictures of the general appearance of the country, or to understand its varied productions. A European traveller usually first strikes the coast of India, either at Bombay, or at Point de Galle in Ceylon, which is truly an Indian island, or at Madras or Calcutta. Each of these has a different character of its own. The sea-coast of Ceylon, and especially its south-west point, Galle, is essentially a land of Palms, and there are few landscapes more striking and lovely than the dense mass of cocoa-nut and palmyra-trees which are to be seen from all the little eminences round the quaint old Dutch town of Point de Galle, waving to and fro in the wind in graceful undulations, and awakening in the mind the idea of a sea of vegetation. Ceylon, however, in colouring and general appearance, is wholly unlike other parts of India. As an island near the Equator its climate is moist throughout the year, and, in consequence, vegetation of all kinds, but especially tree-vegetation, is

always vigorous. The nucleus of the island is mountainous, and round the celebrated Adam's Peak, clearly visible from the sea, European colonists have latterly pitched their tents, and the primæval forests which dotted the mountain sides, with the wild elephants who tenant them in vast numbers, are gradually disappearing before the vigorous onslaught of English coffee-planters. If the Indian coast is struck at Madras a level shore is approached with but the gentle elevation of the Pulicat Hills in the back ground—for the Eastern Ghâts are not visible from the sea. Bright houses along the shore, and the bustling Hindu population with their picturesque attire in which, as throughout India, purples and reds and other positive colours relieve the predominating white of their garments, stand out against the sombre, grey, local colouring of the scene. The approach to Calcutta is through the dismal Sunderbunds, as the low lands just emerging above the water at the mouths of the Ganges are termed—a production of the river, which every year brings down millions of tons of alluvial deposit, soon to form new islands or continents. No enthusiast for the picturesque, even after a four months' voyage, can detect any trace of loveliness in these low swamps, where the land and water seem contending for empire; but so soon as the steamer has hit the true mouth of the river, and with a flowing tide runs up to Calcutta at the rate of twenty miles an hour, the English voyager is lapped in delight at witnessing a verdure which equals, garden-houses and magnificent trees which

surpass, those of his own Thames and Fatherland. Bombay, and the whole of the Malabar coast, as I have already intimated, has the mountain range very near, sometimes quite close to the sea, and consequently they present a finer sky line and more picturesque scenery than any other point of access to the Indian continent.

CHAPTER VI.

PRODUCTIONS.

Productions of India. — Tin. — Cinnamon.—Ophir of Scripture.—Pepper and Spices. — Cotton. — Sugar. — Oranges.—Pearls.—Diamonds.—Gems of Ceylon.—Localities of precious Products. —Cinnamon.—Cardamoms.—Teak.—Cotton Zone.—Food of Inhabitants.

In taking a general view of India, it is interesting to note the chief productions which have attracted the attention and cupidity of the Western world, and the spots from which they have been derived. Pepper, cotton, indigo (*i. e.* Indicum), sugar, precious stones, sandal wood, cassia, cinnamon, tin, appear to have found their way to Europe from India at the earliest period; and some of them are mentioned, with their Indian names, even in Homer and the Bible.

The earliest name of the British Isles, the *Kassiterides,* is clearly derived from the Sanscrit word Kastira for tin, which is still found in India, and which must have been an article of commerce long before those exploring traders the Phœnicians sought new supplies of it in distant islands of the West.

In the oil of holy ointment mentioned in Exodus, (1490, B.C.) cinnamon and cassia appear just as they do in Herodotus, who also distinguished between the true cinnamon laurel and the cassia; and thus we have

traces of an active trade carried on fifteen hundred years before Christ between India and the West, probably by the Phœnicians, who, we learn, were originally settled in islands at the mouth of the Persian Gulf before they betook themselves to the shores of the Mediterranean. But perhaps the most interesting facts connected with the intercourse between India and the West at an early period of history are those which relate to the costly products imported by King Solomon once every three years, by his Tarshish fleet, at his port of Ezion-geber, "on the shore of the Red Sea." It had long ago been remarked by scholars that the ivory, apes, peacocks, precious stones, and sandal wood, spoken of in Chronicles and the Book of Kings, which Solomon imported with the assistance of his ally King Hiram, and introduced into Judea by the aid of experienced Phœnician crews, were Indian products; some of them, such as peacocks and sandal wood, being peculiar to that country.

But the orientalists and geographers of the present day, with the increased knowledge of philology which marks the age, have brought forward very plausible arguments, principally founded on the foreign names of the articles mentioned in the Bible, to show that the Ophir of Solomon was in the land of the Abhirs, in Lower Sindh, or Gujarat, who are still known as a race in India.* A similar emporium for

* Ritter, Erdkunde Asiens VIII. ii. 348, has devoted a long essay to the proof that Ophir was situated near the mouths of the Indus, a theory which was first started by Lassen. See Indische Alther. I. 552, II. 538. Still, on looking at the principal facts on which the

the export of the products of India to Europe no doubt existed in the first century after Christ in Gujarat, viz., at Barygaza (the modern Broach), on the Nurbudda, when it was visited by the author of the Periplus of the Red Sea ascribed to Arrian.

Pepper, ginger, cardamoms, and cinnamon, are the principal spices which India supplies, and they formed for many centuries the chief sources of the wealth which European traders with the East derived from that country. Pliny mentions the price at which pepper was sold at Rome in his time, from which it appears that 1600 per cent. was added to its original cost price in Malabar. It is curious to observe, with reference to pepper and some other products, considered indispensable in civilized society, how completely they have been introduced into universal consumption within historical and therefore within comparatively modern limits. In a very interesting account of the pepper trade which is given in the work of my relative Mr. Crawfurd on the Indian Archipelago, he computes that fifty million pounds is the annual consumption of mankind; while in the days of Cato, probably not a single peppercorn found its way to Europe. So with sugar. The Greeks only

theory is based, viz., that the articles imported at a port of the Red Sea have all Indian names, it would seem that the only unquestionable Indian word is Koph, Heb., from Kapi, Sansc. for ape. India, it may be observed, has no true apes, but probably the translators of the Bible did not distinguish in that day between ape and monkey, and possibly the Hebrew language, like French, Italian, and German, has no terms to distinguish between ape and monkey. Cotton, however, and tin undoubtedly appear in the Bible with Sanscrit names.

became acquainted with true sugar on the occasion of Alexander's expedition into India; and it does not appear to have come into general use or to have superseded the sweetening material, honey, then used by the Greeks and Romans, till some centuries later. But tobacco is the most remarkable example of all; for we can trace its origin most clearly to the discovery of America: yet now the plant with its American name is found in all parts of the world suitable to its growth, and nowhere more luxuriant or more appreciated than in India.

The Sanscrit names by which rice, cotton, and sugar were first made known to Europe, and other indications of their diffusion to the eastward, seem to show that India was the centre from which they first emanated, and it is certainly to their cultivation in India that Europe owes these inestimable productions. I do not recollect whether rice is mentioned in the Bible, but cotton certainly appears there with its Indian name, Kárpás,* as it does in Greek and Roman writers; its modern name in Europe appears to be derived from the Arabic *Kutn*.

Sugar, which to the present day is called Sakar in Indian vernacular languages, is first mentioned by its Sanscrit name in a European work by the intelligent Greek trader who wrote the Periplus of the Red Sea, in the first century of our æra, and who enumerates among the products brought to Egypt from Broach

* Sanscrit, *Kárpása*; Hebrew, *Karpas*; Greek, Καρπάσος; Latin, *Carbasus*; modern Hindi, *Kapás*. See Lassen, I. 250, Royle, 82.

"the cane honey which is called *sakchari*.* In many other tropical countries the sugar cane had been made to render its juice for the use of man, but there is good ground for believing that it was Hindu ingenuity which discovered the processes by which with the applications of crushing, boiling, and refining, crystallised sugar is obtained.

Oranges are also said to be indigenous in India, and certainly the Portuguese introduced them to Europe with their Eastern name Náráng, or Náranja, to become orange in French and English. But though I have found them in the heart of a Ceylon forest, and bearing rich fruit, they were evidently planted there by man, and I have never seen them anywhere sufficiently numerous or vigorous in India to impress one with the idea that they were native to the soil. As to precious stones, for which India is so celebrated, until lately the Gulf of Manaar, between Ceylon and Cape Comorin, supplied the finest oriental pearls, but a governor of Ceylon, some years ago, in his desire to prepare a flattering budget, and to equalise his revenue and expenditure, made so clean a sweep of the oyster-beds, that to this day scarcely a pearl has since that period rewarded the exertions of the Cingalese pearl-divers. Until the discovery of America, India was the only known locality in which diamonds were found, and the mines of Golconda have justified their world-wide reputation by having yielded the finest gems which are

* Και μελι το καλάμινον το λεγομενον σάκχαρι. Periplus III., cited in Lassen I.

known to exist. Few diamonds of value, however, are now found in India, and of the twenty diamond beds which the jeweller Tavernier saw at work in 1669, near the Hill Fort of Golconda on the Kristna river in the Deccan, all are deserted but two or three, and the remainder are so completely forgotten in the neighbourhood that it is difficult to ascertain even their sites. The diamond zone extends from the east side of the peninsula of India, above the Pennaar river, across the Kristna and Godaveri, to the bed of the Ganges, crossing the Sone in 25° N. L., and including portions of the plateau of Bundelcund, as far as Panna and Kallinger.* The peculiarity attending diamonds seems to be that they are always found in a characteristic formation, which is now called diamond sand, and which is a modern alluvial deposit amongst primitive rocks, forming, in geological language, a conglomerate of rounded pebbles or sandstone breccia, and consisting, according to Voysey, of a beautiful mixture of red and yellow jasper, quartz, chalcedony and hornblende of different colours, bound together by a quartzose cement. But in point of quantity no land on earth seems to equal Ceylon in the production of precious stones. The finest oriental rubies and sapphires are occasionally found there; but inferior specimens of these gems, and of opals, of moonstone or adularia, and of topaz are found in such quantities, that I learnt

* Ritter has collected all the information extant relating to the diamonds of India in an interesting monograph, Erdkunde Asiens, b. IV. ab. ii. p. 343.

on the spot that they were sold at a shilling a pound. They are of course not serviceable as gems, but are used in commerce to be ground down as dust for jewellers' purposes.

On taking a general view of the costliest productions of India, it is remarkable to observe how limited the localities are in which they are found. The same observation, it is true, may be made of European products. Thus the zone for the finest wheat is to be found in a band stretching from Dantzic to the Ukraine. Hops are said to flourish, they certainly are cultivated only in Kent, Sussex, Surrey, parts of Hampshire, Hereford, and Worcestershire. The finest wines of France and Germany, the Chateau Lafitte and the Johannesberger of Prince Metternich, are produced from vineyards which present no appreciable differences either in soil or exposure to adjoining grounds, where wines of most inferior quality can only be obtained. But it is in India, and in the spice islands of the Indian Archipelago, that this class of facts stands out most prominently. Cinnamon, for example, only flourishes to perfection in Ceylon and in a very small portion of the island on the south-west side near Colombo. Up to 1770, the bark of this species of laurel was obtained only from trees growing wild; but since that period, the cinnamon laurel has been cultivated with success in gardens near Colombo, where it may be seen growing near the sea in perfectly white sand, containing no less than 95 per cent. of pure silex. Pepper* flourishes

* Pepper (*piper nigrum*, Pliny, H. N. xii. 14); *pippali*, Sanscrit;

only on the sides of the western mountains on the Malabar coast, where it is found wild in all the jungles, though it is only the cultivated plant which bears fruit. The pepper vine seems indifferent to soil, so that it meets with the other conditions in its own native climate which are essential to its existence; and the villagers who cultivate it train the plant indifferently on whatever trees they find most abundant about their dwellings; but the jack-tree (*Artocarpus integrifolia*), the mango (*M. mangifera*), and a species of mulberry (*Morinda citrifolia*), are the most frequently used for the purpose. In the same jungles, cardamoms (also growing wild, and this plant does not lend itself to cultivation), sandal-wood, and teak—the Indian oak (*Tectonia grandis*), occur,—the two former along this range only, and indeed in very limited portions of it; and the teak, though it is found in vast forests in Java, Aracan, and Pegu, only flourishes in India in Southern Malabar, where it reaches elevations of 3000 or 4000 feet, and disappears gradually as the range approaches Bombay and the North Concan. In these latter localities, however, teak is found of excellent quality and shape for those purposes of ship-building in which crooked timber or knees are required. To carry these inquiries a little further, it may be observed that the cotton zone of India is principally confined to the southern division, which

hence *pepe*, Italian; *poivre*, French; *pfeffer*, German; in Hindi, *mirch*, from the Sanscrit *mercha*, whence the *mariha* of the Javanese. Ritter, XII. i. 865.

I have described as the Deccan; and, remarkably enough, the finest qualities are produced in localities of very different elevation, namely, in the low-lands a little above the level of the sea in Gujarat, and in the high table-lands of the southern Maratha country and Berar. So again with the opium poppy; it is only grown to any extent in Malwa, which is a table-land some 1800 feet above the sea, covered with a rich black soil, and in the alluvial lands about Patna on the Ganges, which are scarcely elevated above the annual inundation from the river. The plant producing indigo is only cultivated in Tirhut, though the climate, soil, fall of rain, and general appearance of Gujarat, appear to resemble Tirhut and upper Bengal in all particulars, as I have before indicated. All these phenomena show that there are still many facts to be ascertained which have been so subtle as hitherto to elude observation; but which, when brought within the domain of science, will probably, like other truths, yield ample fruit in contributions to the mass of human enjoyment.

I may dismiss the subject of productions in India by pointing out the fallacy which describes rice as the principal food of its inhabitants. That beautiful cereal, however, only flourishes under conditions which the greater part of India does not furnish, for it requires to be under water during the greater part of the four months that it is connected with the earth. It is only in low-lands, therefore, which can be inundated by rivers, or where the annual rains are heavy enough to afford a constant watery coverlet, that rice

is produced, and in such lands it grows for thousands of years, sometimes affording two crops in the year, without manure. In Gujarat, Upper India, or Hindustan, rice gives way to wheat and barley as the bread-corn of the people, and in the sterile Deccan the coarser pulses, and a species of millet (*Corocaunus eleusyne*) form the principal food of its inhabitants.

CHAPTER VII.

ANIMALS.

The Elephant.—The Tiger.—Indian Lion.—Wild Ass.

In a lecture which aims at giving a bird's-eye view of the principal objects meeting the eye in India, a word or two is required as to its most characteristic animals. These, without doubt, are the elephant and tiger. Nothing, I think, more forcibly impresses on the mind the fact that India, although one of the oldest seats of civilisation in the world, has not yet been wholly brought under the dominion of man, than to find large districts of the country solely peopled as it were by wild elephants. Their habitats in India are the teak and sandal forests on the Malabar coast, from which herds occasionally come up into the Bombay Presidency through the Canara jungles; the saul forests (*Shorea robusta*) which clothe the belt called the Terai, lying at the foot of the Himalayah; Tipperah, Aracan, and thence to the eastward Pegu, Cochin China, and Siam. Some of the large Indian islands also, such as Ceylon, Sumatra, and Borneo, possess them in abundance. Elephants were more numerous, however, in India, in quite recent times, as Akbar met a wild herd on his march from Malwa to Agra, a district in which they are

now never found. The Asiatic elephant,* like so much else belonging to the East, was first made known to Europe by Alexander the Great, who encountered and captured fifteen of them with their Indian mahouts or drivers at the battle of Arbela, in the army of Darius. On his return to Babylon from the Indus he took with him three hundred elephants, and from that period they were used most largely in Eastern warfare, and their employment decided the issue of many a pitched battle. It would appear that most of the war elephants used in ancient Europe belonged to the Asiatic variety, which is known to be a distinct species from the African congener, but it is supposed that the Carthaginians, having learned the art of catching and taming wild elephants from the Hindus, employed in their wars African elephants, which, in the days of Hanno and Hannibal, were plentiful in Mauritania, the modern Morocco, though long extinct there. At this day, however, the African elephant, who is only found in Southern Africa and in Abyssinia, is never seen in a tame state, though there is some trace, from missionary accounts, of elephants being used at Degombah in Central Africa, and Ritter,† notices the usage, as a relic, either of

* Philologers have been much puzzled hitherto to trace the Indian root of the European word ἐλέφας or elephant. Lassen suggests that it comes from the Sanscrit word for ivory, *ibhadanta*, with the Arabic article *al* prefixed, *alibhadanta*, but this is not very satisfactory. May not the word still used by the Cingalese for elephant, *ali* and *danta*, tooth, be the term by which the elephant was first known by European traders? Ἐλέφας is used by Homer for ivory only, and Herodotus is the first who applied it to the animal. See I Lassen I. A., 314.

† Erdkunde Asiens IV. i. 905.

Carthaginian customs, or as preserved through traditions derived from Egypt under the Ptolemies.

The tiger, the royal Bengal tiger, is so well known as typical of India, that it would be needless to expend many words on this magnificent carnivor. He is to be found in all parts of India, and in all countries to the eastward, as far as China; he is rarely seen to the west of the Indus, though he occurs occasionally at Mazanderan at the south-east angle of the Caspian Sea. The tiger is found also in great abundance in Sumatra and Java, though strangely enough not in Ceylon. A tiger was killed in Bombay shortly before I arrived there in 1841, having swam across an arm of the sea, and they are numerous in the adjoining island of Salsette. Although this animal seems in all his habits only suited to hot climates, and to have his home emphatically in swampy tropical jungles like those of Bengal, it is interesting to note what a very wide range he takes to the northward. Tigers undistinguishable in specific characters from those of India, are found in Siberia, in 53 N. L.,* and all over Central Asia, but to this day naturalists have been unable to divine the manner in which they have been able to pass the snowy barriers of the Himalayah, and of the other mountain ranges intervening between Siberia and India.

Two other animals are also found in India, which are interesting as relics of expiring races, and from being mentioned so frequently in the Bible—the wild ass, and the lion—and I was fortunate enough to be

* See Ritter IV. ii. p. 690.

able to procure living specimens of both of these animals. The Indian lion is very different in appearance from his congener in Africa, though the intelligent secretary of the Zoological Society, Mr. Mitchell, does not consider him to be a distinct species. There seems little doubt that it was this variety of lion which is so much spoken of in Scriptural history, and which occurred in Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia, as also in Macedonia, in the time of Herodotus. But its disappearance from all those countries has been so complete, and its existence in India so little known till lately, that even Cuvier limited the present zone of the lion to Africa only, and to small portions of Asia about the Euphrates. Our Indian sportsmen, however, have tracked out their haunts, and I have heard of so many as six in one day falling to the gun of a single sportsman in Cattyawar. At the foot of Abu I found traces of lions mixed with those of tigers, and this is the only locality, I believe, where these monarchs of the forest are to be found in joint tenancy. The fine pair of lions now in the Zoological Gardens in London, I obtained from the Nawáb of Bhaunug-gur, through the influence of my distinguished friend, Lieutenant Colonel Le Grand Jacob, and though they yield in mane to the well-known lions of Africa, they are equal, I think, if not superior in size, vigour, and activity.

The wild ass of India is to be found on that singular tract of country called the Run of Cutch, an emerged sea basin and sandy desert, scarcely now elevated above the level of the sea. They are also

found in a very different locality, the southern side of the Himalayahs, for the skin of one I saw at the Residency in Nepal appeared to me to present no distinguishable characters from those I have met with in Western India. The fleetness of the Cutch wild ass is prodigious; and I have been assured by sportsmen who have attempted to ride them down with their fastest Arab horses, that it is impossible to do so unless the animal had received some previous hurt or injury. These animals leave the desert Run during the night, and approach the limits of cultivation, "searching," in the words of the inspired writer, "after every green thing;" and it is at this period that Indian sportsmen lie in wait, in order "to get a spear" at them in their gallop back to the desert. I dare say my allusion to Job has recalled the fine description of the wild ass to memory; but it is so singularly accurate, and indicates with such precision "the barren land" and the mountain range in which these animals are found in India, that its insertion in a sketch of India seems appropriate.

"Who hath sent out the wild ass free? or who hath loosed the bands of the wild ass?

Whose house I have made the wilderness, and the barren land his dwelling.

He scorneth the multitude of the city, neither regardeth he the crying of the driver.

The range of the mountains is his pasture, and he searcheth after every green thing."

I would only add, in allusion to the cries of the driver, that the wild ass of India has hitherto proved untameable.

CHAPTER VIII.

END OF FIRST LECTURE.

I HAVE now touched upon as many general topics as I could well introduce within a single lecture; and I feel very sensibly that I have been compelled to treat them so superficially as to frustrate the purpose I had in view, of giving a vivid, general idea of India. But this difficulty, I find, attends a lecturer who takes a large subject in hand; if he attempts to give new information, he necessarily becomes didactic and prosy, which is insufferable; for a dull book is always preferable to a dull lecture: if, on the other hand, he merely generalises, and studies form rather than substance, he is generally vague, and he sends his audience away little more instructed than they were before the lecture began. What I have attempted has been to supply a want which Dr. Arnold describes he constantly experienced when reading of foreign lands—namely, some general notions as to the appearance, profile, and colouring of the country. I have endeavoured to point out distinctly the character of the surface by which India is diversified, and which, under the three divisions of Plains, Table lands, and Mountains, gives so much variety to the country and its productions. I have also noted the chief natural products which have made the name

of India celebrated in story, but I have omitted to say a word as to the inhabitants of these wide realms, for even in a bird's eye view of India they require a lecture to themselves.

CHAPTER IX.

Inhabitants of India.—Their numbers.—Hindus.—Mussalmans.—Parsis.—Jews, &c.—Importance of Hindu Element.

In round numbers, the inhabitants of India, including the districts latest ceded from Burmah, may be safely stated at 160,000,000.* It is usually estimated that a sixth or seventh of the population are Mussalmans, the descendants of the conquering races who have successively established themselves in India since the first invasion of Mahomet of Ghuzni, A.D. 1001. I conceive, however, that this proportion is exaggerated. There are also to be included in this estimate sections of several immigrant races, such as Parsis, who, flying from Mussalman persecution in their native country, took refuge in India in considerable numbers, about A.D. 785; Jews, who are also to be found in numerous villages, all along the coast from Bombay to Cochin, and who, by the inquiries of the missionaries, seem to have established themselves in India previous to our era, besides

* The returns laid before the House of Commons in 1852 estimate the population at 151,940,170. But in this return only four millions are allowed to the Punjab, whereas by accounts furnished me from the Board of Control, it would appear that the population cannot be less than double, and probably amounts to ten millions. The cessions from Burmah also are not included.

Armenians, Portuguese, and native Christians, to all of whom the tolerant spirit of the Hindu, and the unsocial system of cast afford a freer scope for the preservation of their religious views, and for the maintenance of their blood and customs, than any other form of society has presented.

The Hindus, however, form such a very large majority of the population, and Hindu views and habits of thought so much predominate, even more than might be expected from their relative numbers, that all general considerations as to India ought to keep Hindus chiefly in view. Sir James Mackintosh was led to observe, some time after taking his seat on the Bombay Bench that a long residence in the East tended to Brahminize the minds even of Englishmen, and during the many years in which I unworthily occupied his place on the same tribunal, I was daily led to observe when the disputes of different casts came before me, that an unmistakeable Hindu tint diffused itself over all. Parsis, Moguls (i. e. Persians*), Affghans, Israelites, and Christians who have been long settled in India, seem to surrender their ancient patrimony of ideas, and to receive implicitly the opinions, prejudices, and conclusions of Hindu civilization. And it is observable that it is only the Hindu race which really flourishes

* It is strange to find the term Mogol applied to Persian as it is universally in Western India; but the term is applicable to tint, not to race. The Mussalmans who invaded India from the north were called indiscriminately Mogols; and, being lighter in hue than the Mussalmans of India, the same term is applied to Persians. (See 2 Elphinstone's India, p. 94.)

in India; Greeks, Indo-Scythians, Affghans, Moguls or Turks,* and Portuguese have successively founded dynasties, but in a few generations each has withered away to give place either to a fresh race of invaders, or to some dynasty of native origin. So far as we can penetrate the gloom which occurs in authentic Indian history, between the dynasty of Greek princes left by Alexander in the Punjab, and the Mahometan invasion, a period of about 1350 years, we find native princes of Hindu origin, principally Rajputs, occupying different Indian thrones, and there are good reasons for believing that under several of their princes, such as Ashoka, Vikramaditya and Salivahana better government existed, and native literature, with other indications of progressive civilisation made themselves more conspicuous than at any other period either before or since. It is indeed a consideration well worthy of impressing itself on the minds of Indian statesmen, that the Hindu element has always exhibited sufficient vitality to develop itself with vigour whenever a favourable opportunity has occurred. Some historians, such as Dr. Arnold, have conceived that when once a nation has lost its independence, it never again can rally from within, but requires for its resuscitation fresh blood, fresh energies, fresh ideas, such only as foreign invaders can introduce. This certainly has not been the case in India. Whenever a foreign dynasty

* Bábur was a Turk, not a Mogol, and the empire founded by him should properly have borne the former, not the latter name. (See Erskine's Life of Babur.)

has become effete, or government disorganised, a native power has sprung up to replace it. Immediately after the death of Alexander, although he established a powerful dynasty in the north-west, the disputes among his lieutenants enabled Chándragupta (the Sandracottus of the Greeks) to found a mighty kingdom on the Ganges.* In later times the Rajputs, who have been well called the Normans of India, were enabled, though we know not by what process, to possess themselves of most of the native thrones of India from the Himalayah Mountains to Cape Comorin. On the breaking up of the Mogul empire, Sivaji with his hardy Márathas founded a dynasty which became all-powerful. The Gorhkas at the end of the last, and commencement of the present century, would undoubtedly have added to their rule the wide plains of Hindustan and Bengal, if the British power had not been too strong for them. And in our own day, Ranjit Sing established a force and an organisation which even under his feeble successors, and incompetent generals, proved no unworthy match for the English Government, and which but for this obstacle would easily have mastered the whole of India.

The Hindus, according to the best opinions of the day, are divisible into two great races, the Aryan, and Turanian, or Tamil. The latter are supposed to be the aborigines of the country, and are found chiefly in the peninsula, of which they form the bulk of the population, and in various wild and mountainous

* Auctor libertatis Sandracottus fuerat. Justin. XV., iv. 12.

localities, to which, like the Basques of Spain and the Welsh and Highlanders of Great Britain, they retired before invading races. The Aryans are supposed to have entered India from the north-west, and to have brought with them the Sanscrit language, the Hindu religion, and other elements of civilization. The amalgamation of the two races, however, has been so complete, that although the ethnological distinction of language still remains very conspicuous, and although, of course, as with all casts in India, no admixture of blood has taken place with other races; the southern or Tamil population of the peninsula are usually cited as the best types of existing Hindu life and character. I have collected and thrown into an Appendix the principal facts which have been ascertained as to the distribution and sources of the languages of India; but there is still much which remains to be learnt. Where did the Aryan or Sanscrit-speaking race come from? We see that they were closely connected with the Zend-speaking, Greek-speaking, Latin-speaking, German-speaking, Slavonic-speaking, races, not at all with the Arabic, Phenician, and Hebrew families. Shall we ever get more information as to this early connection? Again, in the Sanscritoid languages of Aryan India, above a third part, it has been estimated, is traceable neither to Sanscrit, nor other known source. Does this imply another aboriginal race who have not yet been accounted for? Lastly, are the Brahmans connected in blood with the race called Aryan, or are they the only true Aryans who have impressed their type on

the nation? We know that, for as far back as we can trace, the Brahmans have intermarried with one another only, and we may safely assert that they have preserved their purity of blood, and distinctness of race, at all events free of any intermixture with the mass of the nation, or Sudras, for at least three thousand years. These are mere speculations, but they are fraught with interest to many minds.

CHAPTER X.

Early Civilisation of India.—Æra of Chándragupta.—Account of Buddha.—Date of Vedas.

The chief interest of India arises, I think, from the great antiquity and from the self-development of its civilisation. In Europe, we form as it were one family, and our thoughts and actions are moulded in types common to us all, and transmitted through our forefathers from the Greeks and Romans. Hindu civilisation, on the other hand, is wholly indigenous; and every social problem which it has been called upon to solve has been worked out on independent grounds and by independent trains of thought. Hence it is that every day's experience with Hindu life brings to light new customs and ideas, different from (often discordant with) those of Europe; but which cannot surely be judged of correctly when measured by a mere European standard, and which, to a philosophic eye, are always of surpassing interest, as exemplifying various modes arrived at by mankind for the ordinance of human life. Of the early states of antiquity who took the lead in civilisation—India, Egypt, Phenicia, Assyria, Greece—all but the first have disappeared from history; but India, which perhaps may vie with any of them in intellectual

culture at the earliest period, is probably as flourishing now as it was in the days of Abraham. As general statements respecting early civilisation convey only vague ideas, it may be well to devote a few words as to what is actually known in authentic history, respecting Indian antiquity.

Scylax (550 B.C.) was the first European who appears to have visited India. He was sent by Darius to explore the Indus, and published, it would seem, an account of his journey, which related to his Greek countrymen many astonishing tales of a traveller, as did, with still more audacity, the subsequent relation of Ctesias, who lived for some years at the Persian Court of Artaxerxes Mnemon (B.C. 425). Orientalists, however, who are versed in Sanscrit literature, admit that the monstrous stories of Ctesias agree in the main with what the Hindus of that day themselves believed.* Herodotus, in his short account of India, followed Scylax as an authority. And it was not until the expedition of Alexander (327 B.C.) that a body of able observers, trained in the school of Aristotle, were enabled to give accurate ideas to Europe of the condition of India. Of these writers, Megasthenes is far the most important. He lived at the Court of Chandragupta, at Palibrothra, on the Ganges, as an envoy from Seleucus I.; and he probably passed some years in India. The confirmation which his accounts of India and of Indian customs have received from indigenous literature, and from subsequent inquiries, stamp Megasthenes as an

* See Schwanbeck's "Megasthenes," p. 8.

authority of the highest weight." According to him, the Indian state to which he was accredited, the military force of which consisted of 600,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry, and 9000 elephants,* was better organised, and displayed more wisdom in internal government and police arrangements than any country in Europe could then boast of. As the existence of this flourishing Indian kingdom, 2150 years ago, fixes the most accurate period in Indian antiquity of which we have any clear knowledge, it may be well to add the summary given by the accurate Lassen,† as to the state of India at that time, as it may be gleaned from the fragments of Megasthenes.

"In all departments of administration, exemplary order appears to have prevailed. The internal police of the larger cities was regulated with a foresight of which we have no example in any other eastern state. Amongst other arrangements, the police were charged with the duty of providing for the wants of foreigners and travellers. Agriculture, as the mainstay of a well-ordered state, was fostered by the law; and the cultivators of the soil, undisturbed by any forcible seizures of their crops during war-time, were enabled to devote themselves to their peaceful employments. .... With respect to their character at that period, Megasthenes especially praises their uprightness,

* It will be recollected that the number of elephants maintained by the Emperor Akbar was six thousand; the numbers, therefore, recorded by the Greek writer are by no means incredible.

† Indische Altherth., vol. i. 728.

their truthfulness, their honesty, and respect for age. Their courage they had manifested repeatedly in their resistance to the superior strategy of the Macedonians. If, in the present day, shortcomings in uprightness and morality may with truth be ascribed to them, this ought not to excite our wonder, when we recollect that the oppressions of their Mussulman rulers have weighed over nearly the whole of India for a period, more or less, of eight hundred years."

It is remarkable that this weighty testimony of the ancient Greek to the truthfulness of the Hindus, so strongly at variance as it is with modern experience, should be confirmed by one of the most accurate observers of the present day, Colonel Sleeman, who states that in pure Hindu villages, where no contamination from foreigners has taken place, it is impossible to find a more truth-speaking population. An acute Hindu observer, on contrasting the simplicity of these villagers with the more *rusé* inhabitants of towns, remarked that the former had not learned the value of a lie!*

The era of Chandragupta, or 300 B.C., is the earliest fixed point which can be said to be established by authentic Indian history. But on going further back, we find, by a variety of concurrent testimony from Eastern literature of the different countries in which Buddhism has established itself, that the era of the remarkable man who effected such a large reform, or rather such a complete change in the

* See "Rambles of an Indian Official," by Col. Sleeman, ii. 109.

Hindu religion, has been ascertained with considerable precision. I extract from a paper I read before the Asiatic Society at Bombay, a short *resumé* of the principal facts in the life of the founder of Bhuddism, which Orientalists of the present day have gleaned from Pali, Thibetan, and even Mongol literature:—

"Sakya Gautama, as he called himself, a Kshetrya by cast, and of the royal race of the Sakyas, who ruled at Kapilavasta (a town near the modern Lucknow), was born in the year 598 B.C. He was educated right royally both in the arts and sciences of the day; and he spent the first twenty-eight years of his life in the usual enjoyments of a court, and in the company of his three wives, at one of his father's palaces. In his twenty-ninth year, reflections on the great problems of life drove him into solitude, bent on discovering a remedy for the evils which he observed to prevail in the world. Flying from the royal palace by stealth, he cut off his hair and donned the yellow robe, which subsequently became the canonical attire of the Buddhist priesthood, and he betook himself to the fastnesses of the Rajmahal Hills. He next sought out a celebrated abode of Brahmans, on a hill near Gaya; but soon ascertained that their practices were naught and their doctrines bootless. He then withdrew to a solitary spot on the Nilgan river, an affluent of the Phalgu, where, with a few disciples, he spent six years in fastings and mortifications of the flesh. But finding that his mental powers became impaired by such lengthened vigils, he renounced

these ascetic practices; upon which his disciples deserted him, and fled to Benares, to expiate the sin of their master. Thus left alone, Sakya Gautama sat down, absorbed in thought, under a bodhi-tree (*Ficus religiosa*), when, invigorated by the more generous diet he had adopted, he succeeded in attaining the highest state of perfect knowledge, and became a BUDDHA, or Enlightened.

"For the next nineteen years he wandered about Northern Hindustan, living entirely on alms, and making innumerable converts. . . . . His royal birth secured for his doctrines a ready acceptance amongst the upper classes of society; and the Rajahs of Kosála, Sravasti, and Ayodhia, or Oudh, vied with his own father in erecting spacious viharas or monasteries to receive the devotees of the new faith. After promulgating, during this period, the doctrines which, up to the present day, have combined the greatest number of mankind, next to the Christian religion, in the same belief, this royal reformer and truly great man, feeling his end approaching, withdrew, in company of a few disciples, to a solitary grove of saul-trees on the Gandak, and there breathed his last, in the month of Vaisak, 543 B.C."

Prior to the era of Buddha, we have, so far as I can discover, no ascertained date. We have only the ancient literature on which to found conjectures, the most ancient of which literature, the Vedas, have been pronounced by the first Oriental authority in our country, and one of the calmest and most judicious investigators of antiquity, Horace Hayman

Wilson, to be "the oldest extant records of the ancient world."*

No date has been ascertained hitherto for the literature in question. It may be sufficient to state, where all is mainly hypothesis, that Sir William Jones assigns the code of Menu to 880 B.C. Lassen thinks that an astronomical allusion in the Atharvan, or most recent of the four Vedas, shows it to have been composed not later than 1100 B.C.; and M. Langlois, of Paris, translator of one of the Vedas, attributes the earliest hymns in those sacred books to the epoch of the Great Pyramid of Egypt, *i.e.* about 3400 B.C. The stores of Sanscrit literature, however, which have not yet been subjected to criticism, and the tendency of modern scholarship, especially amongst the German and French, to Oriental studies will probably disclose facts from which more certain conclusions as to dates will be obtained.

* Introduction to "Rig Veda," by Professor H. H. Wilson, p. 48.

CHAPTER XI.

Religion of the Hindus. — Tendency to change. — Difficulties for Missionaries. — Account of Swinging Festival.

On arriving in India nothing strikes the eye more than the extent to which the outward and visible signs of religion cover the land. Temples in every village, testimonials to the god on every road-side, religious processions, and pilgrims wending their way to distant shrines, arrest the attention of the most casual observer. The longer one remains in India the more deeply does the conviction impress itself on the mind that there is no country in the world in which religion enters so largely into the occurrences of daily life. It is not an exaggeration to say that the whole existence of a Hindu is mapped out for him and prescribed by religious ordinances, and it would be doing injustice to the Hindus not to admit that a great portion of their lives is passed in conformity with those ordinances.

The Hindu religion indeed is so completely interwoven with the social life of the Hindus that however much every Englishman must desire to see Christianity introduced, and although great moral improvement may be expected to follow in its train, still a considerable modification of European estab-

lishments would seem to be necessary in order fully to replace the ingeniously devised system of the Brahmans. For example, the Hindu temple in every village with its attached Dharamsála, or hotel, for the gratuitous reception of travellers (which is to be found wherever the Hindu religion has penetrated) offers, to the villagers, not only a place of resort or club where the affairs of the day may be discussed, but a refuge for the poor and destitute, and a shelter for the homeless traveller. The tanks, wells, groves of fruit trees dedicated to the public, which are to be found in every part of India, are for the most part traceable to the piety of Hindus acting in obedience to their religion. The personal cleanliness of the Hindus, as well as many other daily habits, are also mainly founded on texts to be found in Menu and other religious guides; and I remember a remark made to me, by a native of Bombay, as to Christian converts, namely, that the only difference which his countrymen perceived in their conduct after conversion was that they ceased to wash themselves. The example of pious, self-denying Brahmans, also, who, though exceptions, are the only ones really much respected by their countrymen, and who, by their cultivation of learning and disregard of worldly advantages, are enabled to act as gratuitous instructors and counsellors of their countrymen, is very powerful on society, and suggests an institution which might possibly be imitated with advantage. We may smile at the grotesque absurdities, and deplore the gross superstition of the system of poly-

theism which prevails amongst the Hindu vulgar, but it is impossible not to admire the faith which dictates, and the self-sacrifice which has always produced in the Hindu system, a devotion to things divine, and a performance of acts generally beneficial to mankind, untinged by any ordinary worldly motive.

I have often thought indeed that the most successful course for Christian missionaries to adopt in order to counteract Brahminical influence, would be to seat themselves down in Hindu villages, away from European establishments, and to adopt the simple living and inexpensive habits of the Brahman; if then, by previous studies of the arts and sciences of Europe, especially of medicine and astronomy, they could put themselves in a position to render more useful services to the population than Brahmans now afford, this self-devotion and utility would secure for them a position and an influence which they certainly have not yet obtained. I am aware that sacrifices like these, though they may be made at times under strong impulses by individuals such as Xavier or Schwartz, cannot fairly be expected from any profession of men, or for a continued period, but I point out that the Hindu system undoubtedly produces them, and that missionaries have to compete for spiritual influence with a body of men all over India who, with more or less purity of life, have made themselves exemplary among their fellows.

In a general sketch of India it is impossible to give any details as to the tenets of the Hindu religion, but it may be observed that, notwithstanding the

strong feeling of conservatism and attachment to old dogmas in India, considerable changes—not to say revolutions—in religion have taken place. The gods of the Vedas have so completely given way to other deities that they are scarcely ever mentioned in the present day. Buddha, as we have seen, introduced what may be called a new religion into India in the sixth century before Christ. This religion, after having flourished under the patronage of native dynasties, and taken deep root in the country, was subsequently, however, so completely oppressed and trodden under foot by Brahminical persecution (the details of which have not reached us) that not a single Buddhist now remains in India proper; although the Jains, who claim to be an older sect than the Buddhists, and who are numerous in Gujarát and Western India, are no doubt an offset from the latter sect.

Religious reforms, indeed, and innovations, may be said to be always going on in the bosom of Hindu society. It is not clear when it was that Vishnu and Shiva, who are the deities now most in vogue with the Hindus, obtained their supremacy; but a reformer of the eleventh century—Sankar-Acharya, seems to have been much concerned with the movement. The founder of the Sikh religion—Nanak, who flourished three centuries ago, was a Hindu of the Jat cast, and the creed he enjoined, in fact, incorporates a great portion of Hinduism. In the present century Narayan Swami has put forth so many new tenets, and collected such a large body of believers, that the nucleus of a new religion seems to have been formed by him.

In fact, the genius of Hinduism is so tolerant, and the Brahminical system affords such a large scope within which the religious feeling may exert itself, that there seems to prevail the greatest indifference as to what the actual religious faith of any individual is, and intolerance is only exerted when any disposition to break the rules of cast is manifested.

The potency of Hindu faith, and the physical suffering which individuals will undergo in order to manifest it, are nowhere exhibited more strongly than in the swinging festivals, which take place in honour of the god, on certain days of the year. A friend of mine, the late Professor Green, was present at one of these ceremonies, and he gave me the following interesting account.

"The village of Bhamburdé is only separated from Poonah by the river Moota, and I have just returned from witnessing in it one of the most remarkable sights which is to be seen in India. This is the *birthday* of the God Maruti (Hunoomán)—the monkey deity—the ancestor, by the way, of all us Europeans, and the god whose chivalrous devotion to the divine Sita has obtained the empire of India for us his descendants. At Bhamburdé he is engaged in a sort of partnership with Bhairav (the Lord of Terror), one of the incarnations of Mahadev or Shiva; and the compound deity thus formed is known by the name of Rokdoba, that is, the god of prompt payment, or, in other words, he who never delays his responses to the prayers of his votaries.

"In front of the temple of this deity, a picturesque opening near the river, there were assembled this evening probably from twenty to thirty thousand people—the grand event of the day being the fulfilment of the views of such votaries as had promised the god to suspend themselves in the air by hooks passed through the muscles of the back, and allow themselves to be thus whirled in his honour round a circle of fifty or sixty feet in circumference.

"As a child of Maruti himself, I found no difficulty in obtaining admission into the very innermost circle of votaries, and was enabled to observe, as closely as I pleased, the whole of the proceedings. The first martyr who presented himself was a well-grown sturdy cultivator of about thirty-five years of age. The operator, a carpenter by trade, pinched up a portion on each side of the skin and muscles of the back, and thrust his sharp flat hooks through with much dexterity. The martyr, I thought, looked a little pale and nervous; but he certainly never once winced, and when hoisted in the air and swung round, dispersed his pieces of sacred cocoa-nut among the eager crowd below with the most perfect coolness and self-possession. On being lowered he was laid on his face on the ground, the hooks extracted, and the wounds stuffed with turmeric and well trodden down by the heel of the operator! I should like to hear the opinion of the Grant Medical College as to the propriety of this treatment.

"The next patient was a man of more sedentary habits and a more sensitive organisation. He appeared

to suffer greatly when the hooks were thrust through the pinched up portions of the back, but bore all the rest of the operation heroically enough. I was much struck by the fact, that, with only one exception, these poor people had voluntarily incurred all these tortures from purely disinterested motives. This was a man childless himself, but who had vowed to undergo all this suffering in order to save the life of a dear younger sister's child. The sister, but a girl herself, with her darling child perfectly restored to health, was present; and the deep sympathy and profound affection for her brother so visible in her face and in all her demeanour effectually disarmed all sceptical criticism on the subject.

"But the next victim was even far more interesting still. It was a young, delicate-featured, and decidedly pretty Kunbi woman, who had voluntarily drawn upon herself this exposure and torture in behalf of no nearer or dearer relation than her husband's brother. Some six weeks or two months ago, a Kunbi domestic servant came early in the morning, as usual, to the house of his master, a native banker; saw his master's bed, as he believed, empty; rolled it up, and smothered in it a poor sleeping infant nine months old. He was apprehended, and his family concluded that we should hang him, or, at the very least, transport him. In their distress his brother's wife made this earnest appeal to Bhairav, and as she, the brother, and most of the twenty or thirty thousand people present on this occasion believe, succeeded in engaging him to exert his powerful influence on the

minds of the English authorities, and thus procured the liberation of the unfortunate homicide. The poor girl suffered a good deal in the first part of the operation, but very speedily recovered her serenity, and was hoisted in the air amidst loud shouts of 'T-s-a-ng Bhulè' (Tsàng one of the names of the god, and Bhulè beneficent), from the crowds of believing spectators.

"I grew exceedingly *spooney*, I must confess, as I read in the face of the poor girl, where it was so visibly depicted, the gratification which she felt at being able to afford her husband and his family this proof of her devotion to them. The poor people had sacrificed a goat on the occasion, and were to have a grand feast this evening, and probably few hearts in Poonah just now are as happy as hers.

"The fourth votary was an aged mother whose prayers had saved the life of an adult son. The vow had been made, and the miracle performed, eleven years ago; but the poor people had never been able till now to incur the expenses of the offering to the god and the subsequent feast. The old lady went through the whole with the utmost heroism, and shouted 'Tsáng Bhulè' while suspended, and scattered her *prusád* with great, though, perhaps, somewhat flurried, enthusiasm. The son himself, a man of thirty years of age, was in attendance, in a state of much greater excitement than his mother, and paying her the most anxious attention. He was not a very prepossessing personage, and his anger at the crowd which pressed too eagerly on the old lady, and

would not be sufficiently orderly, was somewhat greater than there was any occasion for. But he was there with the full conviction that he owed the continuation of his life to the devotion of his mother, and might easily, therefore, be forgiven even a good deal more extravagance than he really displayed.

"On the whole, while one could scarcely look on so much unnecessary suffering without a good deal of regret, and some little impatient anger, it was not possible to avoid being touched with the amount of self-sacrifice exhibited; and, although I left the ground with less admiration than ever for exhibitions of *gigantic faith*, I was conscious of kindlier feelings towards the race among whom such manifestations of the domestic and social affections are, I believe, the most common-place occurrences."

CHAPTER XII.

Casts.—Brahmans.—Tendency to subdivision of Casts.

NEXT to the influence of religion, perhaps superior to it, the system of casts is the most powerful agent on the character and habits of the people of India. At an early stage of society, the division of the people into a few classes, which shall pursue each its own hereditary occupation distinct from the other, and transmit its knowledge and acquired experience in its craft to posterity, is probably an element of progress. It certainly has sprung up spontaneously in many countries of the world, widely different from one another. But it is in India alone that the institution has become perpetual, and has been elaborated to an extent unwitnessed elsewhere. It is well-known that according to the original division in the Code of Menu, the Hindu casts were four,—the sacerdotal cast, or *Brahmans*, the soldier-cast, or *Kshetryas*; the industrious cast, whose pursuits were trade and agriculture, or *Vaisyas*, and the servile cast, or *Sudras*; but in modern times this fourfold division has disappeared, and according to the Brahmans, there are only two pure casts left, themselves and the Sudras.

I have often thought that the Brahmans are the most remarkable body of men who ever lived; and a

calm philosophic work, tracing the growth and extent of the influence which they exercise in India, and the mode in which by direct institutions they have organized the whole framework of society for their own benefit, would be one of the most curious and valuable additions to human knowledge that could be produced from the East. According to the original theory of Brahmanism, as it may be gleaned from the texts of Menu, the framers of the system do not seem to have proceeded with any selfish views in their assignation of duties and employments to the brahminical order; on the contrary, "the life prescribed to them is one of laborious study as well as of austerity and retirement."* It has only been by gradual steps, and by glosses on the original texts of the law, that Brahmans have been able to establish their extraordinary supremacy in Hindu society. But by what process is it that they have been enabled to perpetuate the opinion among their countrymen, which has endured for at least three thousand years, as to their divine character? For a Brahman is considered as emanating from the deity, or Brahmà, himself, and occasionally the god becomes manifest in the person of a Brahman, as was the case with a family near Poona, whilst I was in India, and where for seven generations the universal belief of the country was that the head of the family was the incarnate God.

Their intellectual superiority over their country-

* See Elphinstone's "History of India," i. 24.

men is not less remarkable than the spiritual supremacy which they exercise, and their qualities for administration whether under Akbar, under the Peshwà, or under the British, have always enabled them to force their way into the highest posts. It is not too much to say that the *mind* and thinking power of India is essentially Brahman: on the whole, I believe, exercised well and beneficially for the community according to their lights, but also no doubt very frequently the reverse. So forcibly was this conviction impressed upon me whilst sitting in the Supreme Court, and obtaining the close view of the springs of action among a people that criminal procedure affords, that whenever any very ingenious and complicated piece of roguery came before me, I immediately began to inquire what Brahman was at the bottom of it, and it rarely occurred that I was wrong in my conjecture. It should be added, that the physical pre-eminence of the Brahmans is not less notable. A Brahman village may be at once distinguished by the good looks of its inmates, by the cleanliness of its children, the elegant dress of the women, the neatness of the dwellings, and the conscious look of superiority which denotes all its inhabitants. I remember while passing through the village of Toka on the Godaveri, the dignified bearing of several Brahmans I met there, whose whole revenue probably was a few shillings a month, with their calm intellectual expression of countenance, and their graceful drapery hanging classically from their shoulders, aroused in my mind a vivid idea of

what might have been the appearance of a Greek philosopher of the age of Plato.

The Sudras, or servile class, according to the original theory of cast, were created expressly to serve the three superior casts. It would seem not improbable that the Sudras were the aborigines of India, whom an immigrant conquering race subdued; and the latter having divided themselves into the three classes of Brahmans, Chsetrya, and Vaisya, assigned the subordinate, or fourth class, to the conquered race. The Sudras, however, from a despised, low class, in process of time have grown to be considered a very pure cast, and they form the bulk of the agriculturists of India. In addition to these casts there have always existed races of no cast, or outcasts, of whose origin no clear views are entertained. In the Deccan and Gujarat these races are called Dhers and Mhars respectively; they are a well-grown, intelligent people: inferior in no respect to the Hindus generally; and, from their exclusive possession of certain trades which it would be loss of cast in a Hindu to exercise, not ill off in worldly circumstances; but still so despised, and so much treated as inferiors by the community at large, not being allowed even to reside within the village, that they are not classed under the name of Hindus. It is remarkable how any body of men can have so long submitted to this state of degradation without revolt, and even with cheerfulness; but in India, every institution which is old seems implicitly received by the people as the natural and inevitable

state of society, and as the will of God, against which it would be useless and impossible to make resistance. Indeed, I have often found it difficult, even with the best educated Hindus, to make them understand how a well regulated society could be maintained, where no special class existed to perform the office of sweeper, and other distasteful occupations, to which the Mhars, Dhers, and Pariahs of India by special institution have been condemned.

In place of the original four casts of India, modern Hindu society is cut up into an infinitude of divisions, and the tendency seems to be towards the multiplication of casts. In a census of the city of Poona, out of about 100,000 inhabitants, the number of casts amounted to nearly a hundred. According to brahminical views, each cast should keep rigourously to its own occupation, and Brahmans deem it extremely presumptuous that coppersmiths, jewellers, carpenters, goldsmiths, &c., should addict themselves to studies and pursuits which have been hitherto deemed the exclusive patrimony of the sacred order; but as the British Government, of course, does not recognise any such privileges, a wide door is opened for the development of native talent and energy, and self-interest is commencing a formidable opposition to priestly influence.

CHAPTER XIII.

Physical Appearance of Inhabitants of India.—Manners.—Dress.—Food.—Social Life.—Morals.

THE physical appearance of the inhabitants of India is probably well known in England, from the numerous individuals who visit our shores, and from various illustrations and pictures which art has made familiar in our households. But it should be observed that there is as great a difference between the appearance of the inhabitants of one part of the country and another, and also between the different casts, as there is between Spaniards and Norwegians, or between Celts and Saxons. Indeed, when it is recollected that the principal casts of India keep their blood as distinct and unmingled with that of the surrounding population as the Jews do in Europe, it is not to be wondered at that characteristic traits and features should be perpetuated among them. India, in this respect, offers an admirable field for study to the ethnographer, as it presents so many examples of distinct races living under circumstances which are supposed to affect colour and appearance, and yet retaining their original tint unaltered. The Parsis, for example, who have lived in Western India for about 1200 years, are as distinguishable from Hindus

by their yellow tinge as by their physical build. The Jews of Cochin are a still more remarkable example. The colony has been established there since the third or fourth century after Christ; and Pritchard was of opinion that their dark colour was acquired by the long residence of their race in a tropical country; but this learned writer was misled by his authorities. There are two races of Jews in Cochin, the white and the black. The former are the descendants of the original colonists,—intermingling their blood, no doubt, at times with their brethren at Bagdad and Damascus; but those whom I saw there were as white as the Jews of Europe. The black Jews are purely Hindu in blood, and are the descendants of slaves and servants who have been converted by their Jewish masters.

When these differences are kept in view, it may, I think, be fairly stated that the Hindus are a handsome race of mankind; and the light cocoa-nut brown tint, which their higher casts and which Mussalmans not too much exposed to the sun, exhibit, is so agreeable to the eye, that Bishop Heber was almost inclined to prefer it to the pink and white of the fair-skinned races of Europe. They belong clearly to the same Caucasian type as ourselves; and the affinity of the greater part of their languages to the principal tongues of Europe, would seem to show that the Hindus are more closely allied in race to the great European nations, than are the Jews and other Semitic tribes. The stalwart proportions of the Anglo-Saxon or German are, however, not seen in India.

The organisation of the Hindu is slighter and more feminine, yet capable probably of equal endurance, when not overtaxed beyond his relative strength. The women, with their elegantly-turned limbs and small hands and feet, all displayed with liberal profusion to admirers of the *nudo*, may vie with those of any country in the world for symmetry; and I know not a more picturesque sight than a river near some Brahman village, such as Wahi in the Deccan, to which Hindu maidens are resorting for the purpose either of bathing or fetching water. In the former case, it is remarkable to observe with what virgin purity the whole operations of bathing and changing the dress are effected in the face of the whole village. A Brahman girl puts on a clean robe every day, and the river is entered with everything on, so that the toilette as well as the belle receive ablution at the same time; while, on emerging from the stream, the dry clothes left on the bank are artistically arranged for putting on, and in the twinkling of an eye the wet dress drops from beneath the *sári*, or flowing robe, which the maiden puts on at the same moment. This *sári*, which is the universal dress of a Hindu female, consists of a very long, narrow robe, often twenty or thirty yards long, which, after being first bound round the waist, is tucked up,—one end of it behind, whilst the other end is thrown gracefully over the shoulder. In addition to this, in Western India, they wear a short spencer, called a *chuli*, covering the bosom, but leaving the greater part of the arms, and the body down to the waist, bare. They wear nothing on their

heads but native flowers; and the graceful *coiffure à la Grecque* is universal.

The dress altogether is most becoming; and when in full costume, with a handsome *sári*, a Hindu girl coming from the well, with a vase of water on her head, has often reminded me of an ancient Caryatid, or of the finest draped figure of antiquity—the Pallas di Velletri. With all my appreciation of Hindu female grace, however, I never could get over the disagreeable impression made upon me by the nose-ring, which all married Hindu women wear suspended from the right nostril, sometimes of extravagant proportions, and which never failed to call to my mind those animals in England whose noses we arm in a similar manner, though certainly not with any decorative intention. Whilst on the subject of physical appearance, I should add, that Hindu children are lovely, giving indeed promise of greater beauty than they afterwards realise.

It is curious to note the strong contrast which Hindus offer to Europeans in their dress. I do not mean merely in the form of it, but in its unvarying character. In Europe, one age may be easily distinguished from another by the cut of a coat or the dimensions of a robe; and the expenditure on dress is very much increased, especially amongst women, by the inexorable behests of fashion. In India, one generation dresses like another,—fashion never intervenes for a moment,—and the idea is so little known, that I question if the word is translateable into any Indian language. Is it clear that Europe occupies

the vantage ground in this respect? That suitableness to the climate and elegance in form are presented, in a superior degree, by the Oriental costume,—no one, I think, who has attended either to comfort or to art, can deny. The changes which have taken place in European male dress during the last two centuries appear to have been effected principally with a view to utility and comfort. It is the same advance of democracy which may be seen in so many other quarters, and which forbids the use of distinctive raiment. But have these claims of comfort and utility (I say nothing of elegance) been as yet fully met? The continual alterations in the uniform of soldiers,* and the complaints constantly heard from our burghers, of swallow-tailed coats and tight-fitting pantaloons, seem to show that the end in view has not yet been attained. As to female costume, a different principle, that of novelty, appears to have been chiefly in operation; and the most rapid transitions may be traced—from short waists to long, from scanty robes to full, from short dresses to long—in which change for change' sake seems to have been the only guiding motive. Surely the advance of civilisation is not denoted by the comparative influence of tailors and milliners.

Orientals have also resisted—not, I think, with equal wisdom—the domestic and social improvements

* So far as economy goes, the uniform of the French soldier seems to leave nothing to desire on this head. The "Budget de Guerre" for 1852 sets down the annual cost of an infantry soldier's dress, including wear and tear, at thirty-seven francs (1*l.* 9*s.* 7*d.*)

which modern refinement has introduced into Europe. It was not, indeed, till about 1611 that Coryate* introduced forks into England; but to this day not a single purely Hindu household possesses a knife, fork, or spoon, a plate, a cup, a chair, or a sofa. Their dinners are served on leaves, neatly plaited for the occasion, and thrown away after use; and the right hand, which alone is allowed to approach the mouth, performs all the offices of what the French call a *couvert*. It may be observed, that the inhabitants of Ceylon, who as a race are decidedly inferior in energy and intelligence to the Hindus, are before them in the adoption of European improvements; and every Cingalese cottage may be observed to contain a stock of China plates and bowls.

Hindu cookery can scarcely afford any arguments in behalf of the vegetarian theory, for it is but a sorry art, and is exceedingly limited in resources. The higher casts, and those classes rising in the world who ape the customs of the higher casts, abstain carefully from all animal food, and the Brahmans of the coast of western India, who eat fish, are exceedingly looked down upon by their brethren at Madras for their low propensities. The Rajputs, however, among the higher casts eat mutton, and also, strangely enough, pork, if it be from the wild hog; and the Marathas and Sudras generally eat mutton when they can get it. Still, from the poverty of the bulk of the people, grain and vegetables form the

* The tomb of this eccentric traveller is at Surat, where he died in 1617.

staple of their insipid diet from one end of the year to another. Notwithstanding, however, the meagre cheer which the Hindu kitchen affords, and the unsocial system of cast, which prevents the man of one cast from "eating salt" with his neighbour and friend of a different cast, the dinner to an ordinary Hindu forms the great business of his life; not only to obtain it, which is a task painfully prominent all the world over, but to perform the operations of cookery, if his wife is not by to discharge that office for him, and to seek out spices, condiments, and vegetables to make the monotonous dish palatable; for the exclusive system of cast, amongst other effects, causes every Hindu to be his own cook. It is astonishing, however, how well the Hindu thrives on his meagre diet, and, when occasion calls, on what scanty rations he can keep up a life of energy. It is told of Baji Rao, the leader of the Marathas, that in his war against us, he sustained the longest marches, and lived for days and days together on parched grain, which he munched as he marched at the head of his numerous cavalry. So also the heroic trait of Clive's Sepoys is well known, who, when on one occasion they were reduced with their English comrades to the greatest distress, entreated their commander to give *all* the rice (the only food left in store) to the English, who were less accustomed to privation, and to leave them only the water in which it was boiled.

The social life of the Hindu appears to a European's eye exceedingly monotonous: the complete subordi-

nation of the female sex makes society entirely masculine, and cast does not allow of those festive meetings at a goodly banquet which bring congenial minds together, and which, in the opinion of Kant, make a good dinner, with well-assorted guests, the highest occasion for displaying human intellect and joyousness. Cast dinners, nevertheless, play a great part in Hindu festive economy, though the purpose is chiefly gorging. The festivals relating to marriage, the betrothal, the ceremony itself, the investiture of children with the sacred thread where the parents belong to the higher casts, are all occasions which bring Hindus together, and in which great taste and, unfortunately, profuse expenditure are exhibited.

There are only certain months during which Hindu astrology allows of the celebration of marriage, and at these periods Hindu society appears to think of nothing else. In the island of Bombay, where a very wealthy commercial community exists, during April and May processions of elegantly dressed girls, with fresh Champáca flowers in their black hair, and their feet tinkling as they walk with massive gold anclets and toe rings, are met daily in the street carrying presents to the bride; or the bride and bridegroom, sitting on one horse gaily caparisoned, and escorted by troops of friends, are encountered on their road to the paternal mansion, where the ceremony is to be performed, and which is decorated and brilliantly lighted for the reception of the cast, often at an expense wholly disproportionate to the means of the parties.

With respect to the morals of the Hindus, which English writers are usually so eloquent in denunciating, a criminal judge is bound to speak very favourably, so far as morals may be judged of by the records of an assize court. I am decidedly of opinion, after an experience of more than eleven years on the Bench, that offences against property, and crimes generally, are less frequent in the island of Bombay, where six hundred thousand persons are congregated together in dense masses, than in any similar community in Europe, where equal wealth and equal poverty are huddled up together. Yet the opinion of Hindus is universal, that native morality suffers by coming into close contact with the English. The pristine simplicity and truthfulness of the native village disappear—drunkenness, intrigue, and a litigious spirit supervene.

I say the truthfulness of a native village, for the best observers of native character—such as Colonel Sleeman, whom I have already quoted,* — admit that, except in their relations with government and the authorities, whom they have been accustomed from old time to look upon as enemies, and whom, therefore,

Opimus
Fallere et effugere est triumphus,

the ordinary disposition of a native mind, perhaps

* The chapter of this writer on Hindu veracity is one of the most interesting of his work, which is well worthy a careful perusal by all who occupy themselves with the welfare of India. (See "Rambles of an Indian Official," vol. ii. p. 109.)

like that of a child, is truthful. Such, also, was the light, as I have already shown, in which Hindu character presented itself to the Greek writers and companions of Alexander.

It must be admitted, however, by the warmest admirers of the Hindus that, in the Hindu code, truth by no means occupies the same high place which Christianity and chivalry have obtained for it in European society. Much of this is owing, I think, to the constitution of the Hindu mind, which, from its inferiority in powers of correct observation to the imaginative element, disenables it to present accurate descriptions of the facts which have been witnessed; more to the long-continued despotism which has existed for centuries in the East, truth never being an attribute of slaves or of those in a subordinate position; something to precepts of their religion, which, in certain cases, enjoins falsehood to avert what Brahmans deem a greater evil.

On the other hand, in some relations of life, I think the Hindus excel the English; in the never-failing respect paid to parents, in the self-devotion exhibited by parents to children, in sympathy with the poor, and acts of beneficence for the public weal, and they certainly equal us in fidelity and gratitude to benefactors.

CHAPTER XIV.

Hindu Marriages.—Expences of Marriage.—Polygamy.—Polyandry.—Nair Marriages.

THE most important incident in a Hindu's life—not an unimportant incident in the life of any one—is his marriage. But wedlock in Europe only has in view the interests and worldly advantages of the two individuals who determine on giving up celibacy; whereas with a Hindu the most sacred texts of his Scriptures enjoin upon him the taking to himself a wife, and an unmarried man is declared to be incapacitated for the performance of any religious duty. Hence it is, that of the three great duties in life, the begetting a son, the digging a well and pilgrimage to Bernares, the first is ranked by all Hindus as the most weighty, for the office of such a son is to offer up a funeral cake at the obsequies of his father to his ancestors in Hades.

Marriage then being so all important, from the trammels imposed by cast which forbid marriage out of certain very limited circles, fit helpmates are very difficult to be met with, and accordingly the securing proper matches, and the celebration of different stages of the wedding ceremony, seem to constitute the great occupation of social life amongst the Hindus. It is

of course familiar to my hearers that Hindu casts only marry among themselves, but the restrictions by no means end here. The Brahmans, acute observers as they are, have discovered the evils which arise from too close an intermixture of blood; they have accordingly established several canonical impediments to the marriages of relatives which, in small casts, often make it extremely difficult for individuals to form fit alliances. Moreover, subdivisions of the same cast frequently do not intermarry. Of the eighty-four divisions of Brahmans in Gujarat many of them do not eat, and more still do not marry, with one another. In one of their casts the custom is for marriages to take place only once in seven years. In short, Hindu ingenuity seems to have been exerted to devise impediments for obstructing those engagements, which as I have observed, it is the main business of Hindu life to form.

In modern times the practice has arisen for marriages to be performed at the tender ages of five or six years for girls, and of seven or eight for boys. This probably has arisen from the difficulty I have described of procuring suitable alliances; and judging from the ancient drama of Sacontala, which is attributed to the second or third century after Christ, where the heroine's marriage does not take place till an adult age, it would seem that the practice was not known in early times. This difficulty also seems to have led to one of the most marked features in modern Hindu manners, the extraordinary profusion and lavish expence which attend their marriages.

The Hindus generally are parsimonious, not to say stingy, in the extreme, but the cost of a marriage as required by modern habits and by the force of cast opinions frequently imposes a burthen on the bridegroom which is felt for life. I recollect a rich friend of mine at Bombay of the goldsmith cast, who saw as clearly as any one the evils which resulted to his countrymen from their extravagance in these matters, and who, both from his prudent habits and from his desire to introduce a better system, would have been delighted to set an example of economy, yet he felt himself compelled to spend ten thousand pounds in the fêtes of a few days on the marriage of his son. Hindu notions on the subject have pervaded the whole community. Parsis, Mahomedans, Hindus, all vie with one another in the magnificence of their entertainments on the occasion; and, in the case of a Mussalman nobleman now in England, my friend the Nawab Mir Jafar, as much as fifty thousand pounds were spent on the marriages of himself and his brother to the daughters of the Nawab of Surat.

A German speculator* on Oriental character has accounted for its effeminacy and its inferiority in energy and vigour to the European by the practice of polygamy. But this is mere speculation unsupported by facts. As a rule, polygamy is probably not more frequent in India than illicit connexions of married men in Europe; and the reason why is very obvious;

* Heeren.

the sexes are born nearly equal in numbers in India as elsewhere, and I have shown that the great object in life with every Hindu is to marry. In the competition for wives, therefore, the man already married, unless he is very wealthy, or unless he belongs to a cast like the Kulin Brahmans of Bengal, the honour of whose alliance is so great that families are willing to give their daughter in wedlock though there may be already seventy or eighty wedded wives—the Benedict, I say, is thought wholly ineligible if there should be any bachelor in the field.

The condition of the Hindu wife is not a very exalted one. With the bulk of Hindu society, she is a mere slave to her husband, and works for him, cooks for him, washes for him, but does not eat with him, walk with him, or even venture to address him by his name.* Her condition seems to have become aggravated by the introduction of the jealous habits of the Mussalmans, who relegate their women to the harem, and conceal them from the sight of man far more than was or is the case in pure Hindu society. In Bombay, where the Mussalmans have never been predominant, and in the Brahman towns of the Deccan, women of good cast are allowed more freedom of action, and are much more seen in public than they are in other portions of India.

There seems reason to believe that among the

* See Col. Sleeman's picturesque account of the old widow who burnt herself in his presence on the Nurbudda, and who in her dying moments for the first time pronounced the name of her husband. ("Rambles of an Official," vol. i. c. 9.)

aboriginal races of India the practice of polyandry prevailed largely. It exists now amongst the Todas, who are of pure Tamil blood, on the Nilghiri Hills, amongst the Kandyans of Ceylon, although there is reluctance to admit the fact, and also, I believe, among the Coorgs. From some texts in Menu *, it would seem that in early Hindu society it was permitted to the Sudras, and in the epic poem of the Mahabhárat the five brothers Pandu are married to the same woman. I have often observed that in the pure Hindu society of the Deccan the uncle is regarded with quite as much affection and respect as the father, which would seem to indicate that there also the practice formerly existed. But probably the most remarkable form of marriage which ever existed is that which prevails among the Nairs of Malabar. The Nairs are the military cast and aristocracy of that portion of India, although strictly they are only Sudras. Until the conquest of their country by Hyder Ali, in 1759, the reigning families in the different rajahships were all of this cast. With them the custom is, for a woman on marriage not to leave her mother's house, or even to consort with her husband. It is his duty to provide her with clothing, food, and ornaments, but he is not recognised as father of her children; and, indeed, usually is not so, for temporary wedlock is allowed to her with any one, provided he be of equal or higher cast to herself. On the death of her mother, the

* "Menu," c. ix. p. 59, 64, 66.

wedded Nairine lives with her brothers; and, as a consequence of this strange ordinance, a man's heirs are not his own children, for he knows them not, but the children of his sister.

The Zamorin of Calicut, who was the reigning prince on the Malabar coast, when the Portuguese under Vasco de Gama first effected a settlement in 1498, belonged to the Nair cast, and his descendants are to be found there to the present day, the eldest son of the eldest sister always succeeding to the vacant *musnud*. Ibn Batuta found the same rule of succession in operation when he travelled through Malabar about A. D. 1340.

Dr. Buchanan Hamilton, who made a very interesting tour through Mysore, and the countries conquered from Tipu Sahib in 1800, has given some instructive details on this subject, but I have never met with an explanation of the motives which induce the husbands of Malabar to undertake the burthens of matrimony under circumstances which seem to hold out so little temptation for entering on wedded life.

CHAPTER XV.

Self-Government among the Hindus.—Organisation of Hindu Village. —Duties of a Hindu Sovereign.

If Hindu society be looked at as a whole, it will be found that one of the main effects of the infinite subdivisions of cast has been to produce a large amount of self-government. The government of the state has always been looked upon by Hindus as a necessary burthen, and as a matter of indifference to them whether it be exercised by one dynasty or another.

Asiatic governments, having interfered on few points with the social life of the subjected people, have necessarily left much of their internal regulations to themselves. In the provinces, a Hindu village is almost exclusively governed by its own hereditary officers, and by the influence of age, and the weight obtained by intelligence and good character, operating on the public opinion of its inhabitants. In towns the different casts exercise a strong social control over their members, and are enabled to regulate many matters which in other countries require the interposition of the law. It may be observed, however, that in the Presidency cities,* and other

* The seat of government, such as Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, is called, officially, the Presidency.

parts of India, where the authority of the British Government is firmly established, the influence of cast authority is passing away, and necessarily so. Under the Mussalman government the civil disputes of their idolatrous subjects were regarded with infinite contempt, and for want of an efficient tribunal to dispose of them, litigant Hindus were gladly disposed to invest the elders of their cast with power to decide between them. But it is clear that such power is founded only on opinion, and has nothing but the moral sanction by which to enforce its decrees. So soon, then, as established tribunals are at hand, competent and willing to redress every social wrong, unless the patriarchal influence remains unimpaired, a preference will be shown to resort to the public responsible courts of the Government which have power to enforce the law, rather than to the irresponsible decrees of the self-elected leaders of cast.

Up to the present time, each cast among the Hindus has been not only self-governed, and separately organised, but, may be looked upon as a separate nation unconnected by blood, pursuits, or sympathies with the population around it. Hence it is that there is no such thing as Hindu public opinion; so long as a man preserves the good opinion of his cast, he may commit the gravest crimes against the general public, the grossest perjuries or frauds that would demand exclusion from society, still, if his cast is uninjured by him, he is not deemed to bear any blot on his escutcheon.

With respect to the Hindus as subjects of govern-

ment, it must be admitted they are the most docile and easily governed people in the world. Eminently addicted to commerce and the arts of peace (unlike in this respect, their Mussalman fellow-subjects, to whom war and its concomitants are the congenial pursuits), they desire nothing from Government but to be let alone. As it has been well observed in a late able report on the state of the Punjab, "it is remarkable that the Hindu races, whether converts to a foreign creed, or professors of their ancestral faith, consider themselves as subjects by nature, and born to obedience. They are disposed to regard each successive dynasty with equal favour or equal indifference; whereas the pure Mussalman races, descendants of the Arab conquerors of Asia, retain much of the ferocity, bigotry, and independence of ancient days. They look upon empire as their heritage, and consider themselves as foreigners settled in the land for the purpose of ruling it. They hate every dynasty except their own, and regard the British as the worst because the most powerful of usurpers."

The writer is speaking here of the Mussalmans on the Indus, who are apparently made of sterner stuff than the Mahomedans of India, who appear to me an effete and worn-out race. The remarks, however, are not less true as to the moral condition of the Mahomedans, who find themselves, under the British Government, excluded from the careers of honour and emolument which the military government of their own dynasties opened out to them, and who

have no aptitude or taste, like the Hindus, for peaceful pursuits.

The most remarkable institution of Hindu government, however, is the village community, the organisation of which dates from the most remote antiquity, and which has been established on principles so accordant to Hindu manners and civilisation, that its existence has remained unshaken by every change of dynasty which has occurred. In theory, and indeed in practice, a village is a small state in miniature, with its own government, its own lands, its own traders of every sort. Colonel Grant Duff, in his interesting "History of the Máráthas," gives the following account of a village in the Deccan:—

"All the land in the country, with the exception of inaccessible mountains, or places wholly unfrequented, is attached to some one village. The boundaries of its lands are defined, and encroachments carefully resisted. The arable land is divided into fields; each field has a name, which, together with the name of the owner or occupant, is registered. The inhabitants are principally cultivators, and are now either Meerasdars or Ooprees. These names serve to distinguish the tenure by which they hold their lands. The Oopree is a mere tenant-at-will; but the Meerasdar is a hereditary occupant, whom the government cannot displace so long as he pays the assessment on his field. . . . . Besides the cultivators and the regular establishment, there are other casts and trades in proportion to the size of each village. The complete establishment consists of a

Patell, Koolkurnee, and Chowgula, with twenty-four persons called the *Baruh Balowtay* and *Baruh Alowtay*. These twenty-four persons are of various trades and professions, necessary as artisans and public servants, or desirable on account of religious observances and common amusements."

Few villages have their establishment complete; and it is only of the *Bara Balauti*, in a Hindu village, that a traveller ordinarily hears.

A Deccan village is composed generally as follows:—

1. The carpenter.
2. The blacksmith.
3. The shoemaker or currier. A very low cast.
4. The Mhar or Dhér, who is of the very lowest cast, equivalent to the Pariah of Southern India, is not considered a Hindu by the people, and lives outside the village. But his duties are so important in the village, that the village establishment cannot get on without him. He acts as scout, guide, and an attendant upon travellers. He is the guardian of the village boundary, and removes carcasses and ordure of all kinds from the village; is extremely filthy in his habits and diet; but the race to which he belongs is extremely active and intelligent. They are probably the aborigines of the country, whom the invading brahminical races subdued, and incorporated with the village community in a subordinate position.
5. The potter.
6. The barber.

7. The washerman.

8. The guru, who is a Sudra, and is employed to attend the idol in the village temple.

9. The astrologer, who is a Brahman.

10. The goldsmith, who is an assayer of coins.

11. The tailor.

12. The mulla, or Mahomedan priest, who also, strangely enough, has become incorporated with the village community.

Over all these rules the Pátel, who is a sort of village mayor, and who reigns by hereditary succession. He is usually of the *Sudra*, or cultivating cast; but his *Kulkarni*, or clerk, is a Brahman. The Brahmans generally, as it will be perceived, do not form part of the village corporation. They stand as "gods" (which is the original meaning of their name), apart from the vulgar herd, and only deign to live in the community, to accept their alms, and enjoy the fat of the land, as a special favour to those among whom they are located.

The Pátel, assisted by the rest of the establishment, manages everything connected with the cultivation, and with the lands and common interests of the village. Each member of the *Balauti* receives a proportionate share of the produce of the land as his annual revenue.

The Pátel also exercises civil jurisdiction in village disputes, being assisted in most cases by assessors (usually five), whom he calls to his aid, and who are thence called the *Panchaiat*, which word, or its diminutive, Panch (five), has become familiar to English

readers by its appearing so frequently in the correspondence from Lahore, during the period of the Seik dissensions and war.

The village consultations take place either at the temple or at a rustic town-hall, which most villages possess; added to which, by a beneficent regard to the wants of travellers, it is considered the duty of the village authorities to provide a public building, or *sarai* (hence caravansary, or caravan-sarai), at which the wayfarer may find a gratuitous lodging.

These village arrangements are so complete, that there is scarcely anything a Hindu requires from Government but protection from invasion, and condign punishment dealt out to malefactors. The reciprocal obligation on his part is to pay his quota of land revenue, by which armies and the requisite tribunals may be maintained.

There is no country in the world, however, where the duties of a good ruler have been laid down more authoritatively, or where they have been more generally recognised, than in India. The Dharma Shástra, or Holy Book of Duty, of Menu, pourtrays, in precepts that have fully penetrated the Hindu mind, the whole duty of a king; and from the tablets of King Ashoka, still existing in India, and who recorded, 300 years before Christ, that "day and night he was occupied in promoting the welfare of his people," down to the present day, the duties of sovereignty have been fully appreciated and understood. If Hindu rajahs have too frequently forgotten the path of duty, and have manifested themselves as

sensual or ruthless despots, rather than as beneficent rulers, the submissive Hindu attributes it to the "iron age" in which we live; he may consider it a *barra zulam* (great tyranny), but he is never blind to the fact that the precepts of God and duty towards man have been violated.

CHAPTER XVI.

Influence of the English in India.—Public Works.—Education.—Christianity.—Future of India.

It has been often remarked that if the English were to leave India to-morrow, there would not be a trace of their dominion discoverable twenty years hence. And there is some truth in the observation. The English are not a monumental race: their greatness as a nation has sprung principally from the free scope given to individual energy, not from grand movements directed by the government embodying the national will. But private individuals cannot erect Parthenons, or Taj Mahals, or construct Roman roads and aqueducts. Architecture in all countries has principally put forth her efforts in behalf of religion, but especially so in India. The Mussalman princes of Delhi and Agra expended all their surplus revenues in mosques and tombs. The Portuguese crowded as many churches into their small towns in India as might have sufficed for a moderately sized kingdom. The English religious sects of India, on the other hand, are content, and, indeed, for the most part, are obliged to erect their modest tabernacles out of their own resources.

But the last ten years have witnessed some noble undertakings in India, and England has placed her mark on the country in characters that will probably be legible for ages. The great high-road from Calcutta to Delhi and the north-west is the finest highway ever constructed in modern times by a government, and it certainly is the longest, extending in its projection to nearly eleven hundred miles, and there is nothing in Europe comparable to it. This road, however, even before it is finished, is doomed to be superseded by the railways, which are making sure, though rather slow, progress in their efforts to envelope India in an iron net-work. The great Ganges canal also is a permanent monument of British engineering, and the works for irrigation in the Madras Presidency, executed and in contemplation, are some of them gigantic.

But it is the moral influence which is the most interesting to mark and speculate on. How much of the patrimony of European ideas have the English introduced into India, what onslaught has been made by the laws of positive knowledge and inductive reasoning on the vague, dreamy generalities which the Hindus hitherto have been willing to accept as science and philosophy? In one view of the matter, perhaps, the English have not much to boast of in this respect. As a general rule, the natives, I think, are not disposed to yield the same pre-eminence to their European lords in wisdom and intellectual qualities that they willingly admit in mechanical arts and physical powers. So far as my means of

observation enable me to form an opinion, the Hindus look upon the English as a race who have admirable contrivances for applying combined labour to the purposes of life, who are reckless and daring in war, "those English devils," as the Chinese called us, but who are inferior to themselves in diplomacy, civil wisdom, and government. We have signally failed in introducing our religion, and the publicity given by the press to every case of European malfeasance has not impressed the natives with the superiority of our morality.

On the other hand, the deep root which the study of the English language and its literature has struck into the native mind furnishes a lever by which it is inevitable that, sooner or later, the inert mass of Asiatic ideas and superstitions will be stirred up and vivified. Hinduism cannot survive science or independent inquiry. It is impossible for readers of Lord Bacon to believe in Hunimám or the elephant-headed god. It may, I think, be confidently anticipated that the intellectual movement introduced by the English into India cannot be arrested, and that it is destined to work mighty changes, both religious and political. What religious phase the Hindu mind will assume, and Hindus have such a decided religious tendency that mere scepticism does not seem probable, is one of the most mysterious problems which a speculator can propose to himself. I confess I can see no daylight in the horizon, and am unable to hazard a prediction.

As to politics, speculation may soar more boldly.

The effect of our European education is undoubtedly to emancipate the human mind, to investigate the origin, the stability, and the value of all existing institutions, and to trace the causes by which nations become either free or enslaved. Whether we desire it or not, our educational efforts undoubtedly tend to make the Hindus able to govern themselves. I think the object is a noble one, and that to propose to ourselves anything more restricted would be a dereliction of our duty. I am not sanguine that this object will ever be attained; centuries probably will have to pass over before the Hindus are fit for political self-government; but if ever the moment should arrive when the two or three hundred millions who will then people Hindustan shall have become under the beneficent guidance of their European rulers a nation of freemen, I think all history as well as all political economy may convince us that in those days India will be of more value to us as a powerful, intelligent and wealthy ally than she ever can be in her present depressed and impoverished state.

For, to make a final remark in this bird's-eye sketch, it must never be forgotten, notwithstanding the repeated common-places one hears as to the wealth of India, that poverty is the characteristic of the land. The simple wants and the charitable habits produced by their religion intervene to prevent the cares of poverty being felt as they are by the most impoverished classes in Europe; still, the frame of Hindu society tends to keep the mass of society in inextricable straits, and the improvident habits and

vain-glory which induce the Hindu villager to pledge a life's labour for the festival of a single night, discourage all accumulation, and prevent the rise and formation of independent middle classes.

END OF PART I.

PART II.

JOURNAL OF A VACATION TRIP IN INDIA, THROUGH RAJPUTANA, THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES, AND NEPAL.

CHAPTER XVII.

MODES OF TRAVELLING IN INDIA.

Journey from Bombay to Baroda.

BOMBAY, November 24th, 1850.—Left Bombay this morning at 9 A.M., by steamer, on a long-contemplated trip to the Upper Provinces* of India. There are two modes of travelling in India: one, and the most agreeable, is to travel with a large retinue of servants—(I heard the other day that Lord Dalhousie, on coming down the mountains from Simla on his march to Sind, had no fewer than eleven thousand porters to carry his baggage)—and by this means you pass from one station to another by an easy morning ride, and pursue all your usual avocations as if you were at home, with little other change than a fresh view every day from the door of your tent. The other mode is to disencumber

* This is the term usually used to designate the northern parts of India as distinguished from Bengal.

yourself of all baggage; to have no servants, or at most only one; and to trust to the most speedy conveyance of every country you travel through—camel-back, horseback, elephant-back, palanquin-post—to attain your destination. This latter mode is indispensable when the distances are great and time is pressing; and I adopt it on the present occasion, when the point I make for is Lahore, distant 1300 miles, and a great portion of the journey I shall only be able to accomplish at a foot's pace.

I bring with me, therefore, only a palanquin, four tin boxes, containing the clothes and kit of myself and one servant, a saddle with saddle-bags, and a sharp pair of spurs. Many people in Bombay think me mad to set out on such a tour, leaving behind me all the comforts of civilised life, and encountering willingly many privations; and my old friend Sir Willoughby Cotton, with whom I dined last night, was rather amusing in his endeavours to dissuade me from a trip "through a thousand miles of jungle, where I should not meet one civilised being or gain one new idea." But I prefer infinitely the excitement of a journey through a new and romantic country, where every nook has its tale and every peak its legend, to the dull monotony of an Indian hill-station, and anticipate much greater pleasure in visits to the Taj at Agra, and to the Sikh cities of Lahore and Amritsir, than all the prospects which the ensuing gay season (so-called) at Bombay can afford.

Travelling from Bombay northward or southward

has been much ameliorated, even since I arrived in India in 1841, by the introduction of packet-steamers; and to Surat, which is 190 miles north of Bombay, various boats ply two or three times a week. Directly, therefore, I found that the business of term would allow me to get away by to-day, I wrote to Surat for a small boat to meet me at the bar of the Tapti river, and embarked on board the Sir James Rivett Carnac in Bombay harbour.

25th.—Twenty-two hours brought me to the bar of the Surat river (called by the old voyagers who used to frequent these waters, the Swally); but I found no boat there, and learnt that the friend to whom I had written was in the provinces on official duty. So I was obliged to proceed with the steamer thirteen miles up the river to the ancient town of Surat, and take my chance of finding a small sailing-boat there to convey me to my further destination, Tankaria Bunder, a small port fifty miles further north. Although this was a *contretemps*, speed being an element of my scheme, I bore it with equanimity, not to say satisfaction, as the fortunes of travel had given me two agreeable companions in the persons of the skipper's wife and her mother-in-law, a loquacious old lady from Mauritius. The former was a pretty young girl, not eighteen, only married three months; and, with the confidence and expansiveness so common amongst the English in India, she told me sufficient of her heart's history to make our pacings up and down the deck very agreeable.

Baroda, Nov. 29th.—At Surat I was fortunate

enough to find the collector's boat lying idle, and a friend I met there, young Bellasis, of the Civil Service, put it at my disposal. To get a crew of eight men was an affair of ten minutes; and, after lunching at Surat, where my friend roasted a fowl for me and gave me a couple of loaves for sea-stores, I started with the ebb-tide at 4 P.M. on the 25th, *en route* for Tankaria, distant sixty-eight miles, thirteen of which were river. But these Indian rivers try the patience of a traveller, and the space which I skimmed over in an hour and a quarter, with a steamer and the flood, took me many weary hours to re-measure in my native craft; and, when I rose next morning, I found myself very little advanced in the Gulf of Cambay, with a strong head-wind, and an assurance from the tindal* that there was no reaching Tankaria that day. My cold fowl of yesterday now came into play, and a leg and wing with a bottle of soda-water formed the dinner for myself and dog.

The tide in the Gulf of Cambay runs so strong that boats going northwards are obliged to anchor at every ebb; and at 2 P.M. we accordingly did so. But in the evening, when the tide began to make, I found that my crew exhibited no symptoms of undertaking a night voyage, although there was a fine moon; so I had to stimulate them into action, and at six next morning, when I woke, I found we were at anchor in the mud about a quarter of a mile from the Custom-House jetty, or Bunder, which was my

* Native term for the skipper of a small boat.

88370

destination. I was carried through the mud on a board, and got my palanquin and things on shore, where I found that forty palanquin-bearers had been sent down for me, with a light tonjon, a Sáni * camel, and some troopers for an escort, by his Highness the Gáikwár,† in order to convey me to his capital of Baroda, forty-two miles distant. I started as soon as the people were collected from the village three miles off, and got under weigh about 9 A.M., and reached my first stage, a village fourteen miles off, at 1 P.M. I here learnt that a Sahib‡ was encamped in a tent; and, on the principle laid down for travellers in India by Baron von Hügel, that "every white man you meet in India is a friend and every black one a slave," I made off at once to his tent for the chance of getting a breakfast. I found the Sahib to be a young civil engineer, who was making a sketch-survey of a railway between Baroda and the coast; but I no sooner looked my host in the face than I perceived that all hopes in the eating line were little likely to be gratified, for he crawled out of

* These are the light camels or dromedaries trained specially for the riding of native chiefs.

† The difficulties of representing Indian sounds by English orthography are well exemplified in the name of this Maratha chieftain. It is written in its original tongue Gáyakawád, but the infinite varieties under which it appears in an English dress, Guicowar, Gickowar, Gaekwar, Gaikwad, &c. &c., are well known to all readers of modern Indian literature.

‡ This is the name universally given by natives to the English in India. It means literally Lord, or Master, and does not indicate unfitly the relation deemed to exist between the Europeans and the native population.

his tent to receive me, emaciated with fever, and he evidently had taken nothing more substantial than an orange for days past. The remaining wing of my chicken, however, came into play, and the engineer's native servant baked me some *apps*, cakes like Scotch bannocks, but made of jowári (holcus sorghum), and they were excellent. I had still thirty miles before me to Baroda, which I was anxious to reach that night; and as I heard that a horse was waiting for me at the last stage, ten miles from Baroda, I persuaded my bearers to push on with me after two hours' rest, and I started again at 3 P.M. It took me till midnight to accomplish these twenty miles, and I cantered in from the last stage with a bright moon, such as the tropics only offer, in full glory, and reached the Residency, as the abode of the English minister at a native court is called, a little after 1 A.M.

The minute account of this day's work shows that, with the lightest luggage possible,—in fact, with nothing but myself to carry, and with all the resources of a native prince placed at my disposal,—it took me sixteen hours to accomplish forty-four miles.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Baroda.—The Gáikwár's Levee.—Elephant Fight.

My friend Captain French, who was resident at the Gáikwár's Court, and to whom I was indebted for all these facilities of travel, was in bed when I arrived, but he got up to receive me, and we sat down to supper and talkee-talkee, which occupied us agreeably till past three.

Next morning I made arrangements for pushing on my servant a-head with palanquin, light tonjon, and a Sáni camel; and they started that evening, so as to make three marches in advance, and I am to follow them on the 1st by a ride of sixty-five miles.

Nov. 30th.—Yesterday I went to his Highness's durbar to kiss hands. I had been received in state at the same court by his father, three years previously, and I well recollected the striking feature of a magnificent avenue of elephants, one hundred and twenty in number, with torches borne on each, which lined the principal entrance to the palace, when our cortège approached. The levee to-day was by daylight, and his Highness sent carriages for us at 4 P.M. The city was crowded with spectators—twenty thousand, at least, must have been collected to see three or four very ill-dressed Englishmen (myself, French,

and two other gentlemen of the residency) descend at the palace-gate. We were received there by the Dewan, or hereditary Premier, who took me by the hand and led me up a staircase, dark, steep, and narrow (staircases are always defective in Hindu architecture) to the durbar-room, where the Maha-Rajah met us at the entrance. After shaking us by the hand, he caused all his family to do the same, in order of birth, down to the children in arms; then, taking me by the hand, he led me through the saloon to the *gadi* * at the further end of the room, through lines of courtiers on each side. He there placed me and our party on chairs to his left, and the different noblemen and people of his court were brought up to be introduced, their names being shouted out by a sort of nomenclator and repeated to us by the rajah.

I may remind such readers as are not familiar with Indian matters that the small principality of which Baroda is the capital was one of those carved out from the declining Mogul empire by the enterprising Márathas during the last century, and it is ruled over by a Márátha dynasty, whose language and habits are wholly different from those of the native Gujarátis. On seeing the whole court assemble, as I did on this occasion, I was much struck at the absence of anything like a Gujaráti gentleman; all the public employments are filled by Márathas, and, I must say, I never saw so ill-favoured a nobility or bureaucracy

* Literally, cushions, which are placed on a rich carpet on the ground, and form the Hindu throne.

in my life. But the Márathas everywhere are an ugly, uncultivated race, and it is only by the aid of the numerous bráhmans who are settled among them, and who form a very large portion of the population in Máhárashtra, that they have been enabled to conduct civil government at all. The Péshwa, or maire du palais, of the great Márátha kingdom, it will be recollected, was a bráhman.

At the end of the Gáikwár's reception or durbar-room, a nách, or dance by professional dancing-girls, was going on, as is usual at all native receptions, and one of the girls was pretty enough, which, according to my experience, is somewhat exceptional among these *figurantes*. All this ceremony occupied at least an hour, and, in the interval, the chandeliers were lighted, which increased the heat. His Highness occupied the intervals with talking to Captain French and me and playing with his little daughters, who were crawling over the cushions, while another daughter, with a blot on her 'scutcheon—a Miss Fitz-Gáikwár—sat respectfully a few feet off the royal gadi. We began to get bored; so French respectfully intimated that he had a dinner-party waiting for him at home, when the ceremony of pán-supári* commenced, which lasted another full half-hour, it being the duty of the hereditary dewan, or prime minister (a nominal post, however, the occu-

* The handing round of betel-nut, or rather the nut of the areca palm wrapped in a leaf of the betel-pepper plant, and a little pounded lime for mastication, is equivalent to, but much more universal than, our custom of handing wine and cakes to visitors.

pant being a Purvoe,* and representative of a very able man who assisted the British in their first alliance with this state), to present the betel-nut to each of the nobles present—an office which the Gáikwár himself discharges to English guests of rank—and we took leave. The effect, on my mind, of the Márátha levee was unfavourable. The whole thing was *mesquin*. The prince and his family were covered with jewels, but, being ill-set and uncut, they made the impression only of "barbaric pearl and gold," not of magnificence; and his principal chiefs had such a besotted, stupified look, without either the vigour of soldiers or the refinement of courtiers, that I could not help feeling great contempt for the whole show. Wherever there is power, one involuntarily feels respect. I daresay, at Bhokara, or Merv, or at some such inland state, where foreign influence is not predominant, one would regard every institution with much interest; but, at a court like the Gáikwár's, where there is no display of taste, where meanness in every quarter predominates over the magnificent, where all the ideas and occupations that one hears of are the most trifling and insignificant, and where nothing great, either for good or for harm, ever enters into the mind of any one, the only feeling which comes over one is that of pity or (worse) contempt.

Nothing could exceed, however, the disposition of his Highness to be kindly towards me. I was the

* A Hindu cast of writers who were much favoured under the Péshwa's government.

first stranger of any position who had visited his court since his accession, and the power of the British in India is now so fully established, that the minds of these native princes are deeply impressed with it; and when they are not sulky, they are extremely desirous to cultivate friendly relations with the authorities. A traveller like myself profits by this disposition, and wherever I go I find my path smoothed and little attentions paid which, though they cost little, are extremely valuable to one going as fast and as little provided with "superflu'" as I am. He was desirous to give me a dinner the next day—this we declined; he then proposed a visit to his garden, where he had just built a villa, and we were to see an elephant fight before leaving. The next day, accordingly, we went to another palace in the city, at 3 P.M., where we found his Highness, and were received as the day before, shaking hands with all the family, but with only one or two of the chiefs there; and then the Gáikwár conducted me through a most dilapidated court to a fine enclosure, or amphitheatre, some three or four hundred feet long, which would have accommodated 100,000 spectators; and in an idle city like Baroda, of 130,000 inhabitants, spectators are never wanting. We found, however, there was only one elephant *must*, and accordingly a fight was not practicable, for it is only whilst in that state of periodical excitement that they become savage. The enclosure, however, was occupied with from twenty to thirty matadores, who were prepared to encounter the single must elephant,

who was soon driven in, with heel-ropes attached to him. As soon as these were taken off, the matadores, or teazers, began annoying him in all possible ways, holding up to him pieces of bright-coloured cloth, pricking him with spears, &c., and the sport—if sport it can be called—is to see him chase his tormentor, with the certainty that the latter will be killed if he is caught. The elephant was extremely savage, and on one or two occasions very nearly caught his persecutor—so nearly, that Captain Battye sitting next to me, and who had not seen these things before, nearly fainted; but when the elephant was within a couple of feet—*i.e.*, his extended trunk was within that distance of the fugitive—some of the others fired rockets in his face, which stopped him. The speed of an elephant is greater than that of a man, and even these tame ones, when they get into their long trot, seem capable of running down the swiftest runner. The present elephant was very savage, and wherever he succeeded in getting hold of a cloth held out to him, he was down on his knee in an instant, crushing it, and showing well what his mode of dealing with an enemy was.

This being over, the Gáikwár led the way to his cortège of Sowarry elephants, which were in attendance; and, after giving minute orders as to which should occupy which, he took Captain French and myself on his royal *monture*, the fourth of our partie quarrée being his youngest daughter of three years old. We thus proceeded (I for the first time) on an elephant, through the populous city, to his garden

house, a villa built in the English style of Indian architecture, and in the midst of a large, tasteless garden. The house presented a novelty, however, in being surrounded by a pond architecturally connected with the house, and full of gold fish. His Highness seemed much pleased with the notion; and, after showing us over the house, we all took our seats in the principal drawing-room, where the usual ceremonies were performed, *i.e.*, the nach girls danced, the pán-supári was given, necklaces of flowers were put over our heads, and we took our leave, I bidding my adieu with thanks to his Highness for the kindness he had shown me.

CHAPTER XIX.

Long Ride before Breakfast.—Details of Cortège on march.—Description of Gujarát.—Man murdered on line of march.

DEC. 1st.—Veerpore. Left Baroda this morning at half-past 5, and reached this place, eighty-eight miles, at half-past 10 P.M. I was enabled to make this great stretch by having sent off all my things, three days before, to Balasinore, sixty-four miles; and by now following them on horseback, with saddle-bags and a paper of sandwiches. Captain French accompanied me the first six miles, till the day broke, and then I made the best of my way, so well, on six horses, that I reached Balasinore at 1 P.M., having only stopped for twenty minutes under a banyan-tree, to eat my sandwiches and drink a bottle of soda-water.

At Balasinore, which is a fort belonging to a Mussalman chief, under our Raj, and situated in the midst of a very barren jungle, the nawab came out to meet me, with a few horse. He and three or four of his followers presented a much more gentlemanlike appearance than anything I had seen at the Gáikwár's court; and he was exceedingly pressing in his hospitality that I should spend a day with him, to have some shooting, either tiger or hog. As I had come so fast, however, and time pressed with me,

I had made up my mind to push on with my palkie that day, to this place, as soon as I had dined; so I was forced to decline, with thanks; and the nawab left me to dine in a tent which he had pitched for me by the side of a pond, promising to call in the afternoon.

My servant Ibrahim now cooked for me my first dinner, and gave me an excellent boiled fowl à la blaize, which, with a couple of glasses of *water*, I enjoyed more, after my sixty-four miles through the sun, than any dinner from the best French cook in Bombay. I had started from Baroda with a bad headache, but I had ridden it off in the first twenty miles, and, now, never felt better. At three, the nawab paid me his promised visit, and I now found why he was so desirous to conciliate me. He had got into some altercation, it seems, with a neighbouring chief—the Rajput Rajah of Lunawarra—and hearing that I was a *great man*, he was desirous to make a friend of me. I could scarcely understand his grievances, and could not at all make him understand that I was merely a traveller for pleasure, without any power at all; so I promised him I would convey his views to Colonel Lowe, the governor-general's agent for Rajputana, under whom the Lunawarra chief is. Accordingly, I had not been long at this place before the nawab sent me a letter, in Gujaráti, to which I have promised to reply, and must send him an answer from Udipur. I then got into my tonjon at 4 P.M., and gave my palkie empty to the bearers, and putting Ibrahim on the camel, we got into this place at half-past ten, and in five minutes

I was asleep in my clothes, lying on a native *rizai* (padded cotton cloth), in the *chaori* (or town-hall, in language of pomp, but open shed, in sober truth) of this village.

This morning (2nd) I have occupied myself with reading the overland news of October 24th, and writing this Journal; and I hope to be able to get under weigh for my next stage by 12 A.M.

Dec. 3rd.—I left Veerpore yesterday at half-past one, and reached Pandu Bakore, twenty-two miles, at half-past six—good travelling. We were now in the territories of the rajah of Lunawarra; and he, having heard of my coming, had sent some horsemen, with orders to supply my wants. This is extremely useful when one arrives at one of these out-of-the-way villages, where Europeans are scarcely ever seen, especially when one arrives in the evening; for there is a number of wants to be supplied: fuel to boil the pot, rice, &c., for the men, provender for the horses, milk for the sahib's tea, and a lodging for the whole, to be provided. The latter was first pointed out to us under a fine banyan tree outside the town, and which would have been excellent for a tent, but as we had none, my people demurred, and we were led back to the town, and, under the authority of the rajah's horsemen, took possession of two shopkeepers' verandahs, in which the men placed themselves, and soon lit their fires, smoked their pipes, and drank their water; for, as a general rule, the Hindus never eat more than one meal a day; and it is so inconvenient to do more when travelling, that I myself adopt the same

custom, and think myself lucky if I get a cup of tea in the evening. Yesterday, for instance, my breakfast and dinner combined, came off at 11 A.M., and consisted of a fried fish and some rice; and as the bearers with my kettle did not get up, by some mistake, till 12 P.M., I did not get my tea. Having made this day but a short march, I stimulated my bearers to make a long march of thirty-four miles on the following day, by the promise of a sheep for dinner, and arranged that they should all leave at 3 A.M., and that I would follow them at daylight, on the Sáni camel, and go the first twenty-four miles to breakfast. I accordingly took out my pillow and blanket from the palanquin, and they made me a bed in the verandah. They all started at half-past two, and I followed them at daylight (6 A.M.), with four horsemen.

I have not mentioned the details of my cortège. I have thirty-six bearers for the palkie and tonjon; but the former is so heavy, with its library of books, its imperial, &c., that I am unwilling to go in it, and have not yet entered it, except when, as now, passing the day inside, reading and writing. The Gaikwar has lent me a Sáni camel—that is, a swift-riding dromedary—who can easily go seven miles an hour when pushed. I have also an escort of ten horse, commanded by a purvoe, Narro Dilvi, a relation and hanger-on of the Purvoe Dewan whom I mentioned before, and who has a revenue of about 10,000*l.* a year guaranteed by our Government. His poor relations consequently flock around him; and the

present one, I suppose, may enjoy a revenue of fifty or sixty rupees a month (five or six pounds) out of his command of ten horse, which he holds in the dewan's paga, or regiment. The purvoe has two camels for his baggage, and for the rowti, or small tent, also sent for me by the Gaekwar; and, with the followers of his troop, we amount to near seventy souls. Starting at six, I reached this place (twenty-four miles) at half-past ten, and was much pleased with the motion of a camel, which I had never before experienced, and which people in Bombay had described to me as rough and unpleasant. I got my dinner (an engrossing event with travellers and diarists), consisting of cold fowl and tea, at 1 P.M., intending to start again at five; but a cortège from the village came up, with an account of a sepoy having been murdered by Bhils that morning, on the route we were going; and my people thereupon were so solicitous to make the next march by daylight, that I have resolved to postpone my departure till to-morrow morning at daybreak.

The country I have come through for the last forty miles has completely lost its Gujaráti character, —that is, exceedingly rich deep alluvial soil, without the intermixture of a pebble, and bearing the richest crops of cotton, just coming into flower; of tobacco, two feet high; of wheat, just peeping above the surface, and which has been planted since the harvest of the Karif crops has been reaped; interspersed plentifully with patches of sugar-cane, and scattered over the whole, in boundless profusion, magnificent trees,

such as the tamarind, and mango, and banyan, whose luxuriance is so great that if Milton had known of them he surely would not have cited those of "Malabar or Deccan."

This mention of the general face of Gujarát reminds me, that whilst in Baroda, Captain French urged me to take some shares in the railway which he was projecting between Baroda and the sea (forty-five miles), and to write him a letter, which should be published in the "Manchester Guardian." I rather demurred to the latter part of the proposal, on the ground that whatever authority the Chief Justice might be in law, he was none on roads; but my host was so earnest with me, and so enthusiastic in his scheme, that I felt myself compelled to comply; and I afterwards saw my letter paraded in numerous railway prospectuses. The above description of Gujarát is a true portrait of the portion of country between Tankaria and Baroda, and of many other districts that I have seen; but another main feature should be mentioned — its remarkable levelness, a perfect billiard-table to the eye; and as the soil is exceedingly retentive of water, large lake-like ponds, much frequented by water-fowl, are met with at every village throughout Gujarát Proper. But in the direction which I have now taken from Baroda, the soil becomes more sandy immediately on leaving the city, and about fifty miles N. and by W., one first comes on some veins of quartz cropping out, and tabular rock, the country still preserving its level. Every succeeding five miles has brought me more closely to

this primitive formation; quartz in abundance, and schistose hornblende, nearly vertical, with a dip to N.E., coming constantly to the surface; and the country exceedingly barren, being both waterless and without villages, though for the last forty miles covered with jungle of teak and dák (*Butea frondosa*), though but little undergrowth; and, therefore, I cannot account for its bad reputation for fever. It is, however, the western extremity of the ill-omened Beryah jungle which has at times proved so destructive to European life. The villages which I have passed in this morning's march are different from any that I have seen in India, as they consist of detached houses, each with a field to it, and looking like independent homesteads.

CHAPTER XX.

Description of Rajput Villages.—Bhil Aborigines.—Architectural Wells.

DEC. 4th.—Sangwarra, twenty-six miles. Owing to the wishes of my party, we did not get off till nearly seven, and did not arrive at this place till 5 P.M. Yesterday evening, the thákur of the village, as the feudal chief is called, paid me his respects—quite a nobleman in appearance, *i.e.* after the notion of Tom Jones, who, as Fielding tells us, was not well acquainted with the personal appearance of members of the Upper House. He and his friends around him expatiated much on the murder of the morning, and on the lawlessness of the Bhils in the neighbourhood,—one of his relatives stating that he had had a brother murdered four months before; and the thákur told me that he should send a further escort with me, next morning, of eight foot and two horsemen. I did not gather a very clear idea of the murder; but it seemed that a bunnea, escorted by three footmen and one trooper, was attacked by Bhils, two of the sepoys were wounded and one killed; but the bunnea made off in safety. Our party was sufficiently strong to have put to flight a hundred Bhils; but I thought it well, for the sake of encouraging my bearers, to load my

pistols, and I did so ostentatiously. We were detained in our march by the difficulty of getting bigarries (porters) to carry our loads. We only required ten; but at some of the villages, so many are difficult to obtain. There appear to be three distinct races at these villages,—the Rajputs, whose free, independent, soldierly bearing distinguishes them at once; the Bhils, an aboriginal race, inferior in organisation, and having all the looks of an oppressed and depressed tribe; and the Kumbis, or cultivators, who resemble those one meets with in the Deccan. The Bhils are made to do all the carrying work, and are pressed into the service without any ceremony, and, so far as I can perceive, without pay (I speak with hesitation, however, for one never pays anything oneself, and it is only at the end of a journey that one's servant brings an account, written out by some kárkun for him, of the monies he has laid out). If no Bhils are forthcoming, the Kumbis are made to do the work; and one, who was pressed into a load to-day, but whose place was soon supplied by a Bhil whom we picked up in the fields after a couple of miles, on leaving us, after making a respectful salaam, observed, "I have done a very great thing to-day (bahot bara kia)," with an amusing air of half-indignant expostulation. But no one ever thinks of suggesting that a Rajput should carry a load: they are the acknowledged aristocrats of the country, the dominant race; and they look it, both in looks and manner. I had never before seen such a head-man of a village as this thákur. The Deccan

pátel is only a cultivator, like the rest, and looks and lives like them; but this thákur stood amongst his people as distinguished from them in appearance and dress, as a middle-age baron from his serfs; and he belonged, as they told me, to one of the distinguished families of Rajasthan. His house was enclosed with a high wall, and I first of all took it for a fort; and in the court-yard I saw a few horses and troopers. And so, at all the villages I passed through, a few Rajputs, armed, &c., like soldiers, were to be seen sitting in idleness; and I could not perceive that any of them engaged in cultivation or other useful calling; nor, as I ascertained on the spot, do any from this part of the country enter our military service.

On arriving at this place, which is a large town, we did not at first find a lodging. In most Hindu villages, there is a public building entirely for travellers, maintained, not by Government, but by the community; and an immense convenience to wayfarers it is. Indeed, in Europe we have no institution at all of a similar character (possibly it is the climate which does not allow it) which does so much good at such little expense. The building which appeared to be the *Chaori* was an upper-storied one, and at an oriel window several Rajputs were sitting, who demurred to our admittance. I was accordingly placed down in my tonjon under a tree, where I remained for half-an-hour, an object of immense interest to a mob of two or three hundred, who speedily collected, and who probably do not see a European above once in two years, if so often. At

last, my horsemen having found out the head-man of the town, here called a karbari, we were led by him under a handsome gateway to one of those architectural wells which are distinguishing features in Gujarát. This one was about sixty feet deep, and approachable to its level by steps; and round and about it our whole party speedily made themselves comfortable. On inquiry, I ascertained that it was a Brahman of Udipur who had built this well about a hundred years ago, at an expense of 2000*l*. Its good state of repair, however, makes me doubt whether its age is so great as this, for Hindus rarely seem to touch the works left them by another. To conclude the day's events—My meal of this day did not come off till 6 P.M., and consisted only of tea and the bajri (holcus spicatus) cakes, which my man Ibrahim makes very well. My bed is laid out in the palkie on the first landing of the well, and my toujon beside it allows me to sit in it, and write my journal here on my knee. This is not a very exciting or a very instructive life; but, after all, it is as good as an evening spent at the esplanade or band in Bombay. And I generally get from one to two hours a day of reading. My books hitherto have been "Orlando Furioso," which I have never read, and Froude's "Nemesis of Faith," which I picked up at Baroda.

CHAPTER XXI.

Early Morning Bath.—Advantages of Hindu Temples to Travellers.—Lake and Town of Salumba.

DEC. 5th.—Aspar, twenty-four miles. I roused up my people at 3½ A.M., in order to make a morning march and arrive earlier at camp. I found my purvoe captain of horse already up, and I got a good lesson from him. The only serious inconvenience I have met with is the difficulty of finding a snug, cosy corner for a bath. I can read, write, eat, and sleep before an admiring mob with *sang froid*, but the little ineffable mysteries of bathing require, for my taste, privacy; though Hindus, men and women, bathe freely before the world, and the latter with the utmost delicacy. But I am straying from my morning's hint, which was, finding the purvoe bathing himself by moonlight. I immediately followed the same practice, and have given orders for a large chatty of water to be put by my bedside every night for early morning's use. It is rather cold with the thermometer down to forty (though up to eighty-one in the middle of the day), but very refreshing.

Aspar has got at least three well-built temples in it, though a small town; and in one of them, the

tolerant Jain shopkeeper who did the honors of the town to us, allowed me to make my lodging. What a beneficent religion this Hindu is for those who profess it, and even those who laugh at it often profit greatly by its ordinances. To the poorest Hindu in every village there is an hotel, in the shape of a temple, where he will find lodgings, good company, water, and, no doubt, if he is in actual want, food. The religion, entering as it does into every institution of life, is a perpetual source of amusement to its votaries in their different festivals and processions; (and where happiness can be produced on easy and innocent terms, it is difficult to witness it with regret!) and the morality it inculcates covers the country with wells and tanks. The temple I was in was, in external appearance, one of Shiva's — that is, it had the quadrangled ribbed, quasi-pyramidal steeple, over the shrine, with the prodomos before it, which in Shiva's temples contains the bull *Nandi*. In this Jain temple, however, there was only an elevated stone platform (on which my palanquin was placed), and in the sanctum sanctorum, instead of a monstrosity for a god, three sitting Bhudd-like figures, the centre one being of black marble with frizzled hair, and a fac-simile of what I have so often seen in old Buddhist caves.

I did not get my meal (I cannot make distinctions between breakfast and dinner) till 6 P.M., having only had a cup of tea and biscuit at 4 A.M., and walked myself into a good appetite besides with a

ten miles' walk. After dinner, when I pulled out my journal to amuse myself, or rather to kill half-an-hour, the cotton-wick in my little earthen saucer went out, and as my man had gone to cook his own dinner, I was obliged to sit in the dark chewing the cud of my own thoughts till bed-time.

6th.—Salumba, thirteen miles. What a comfort it is, after all, to make a short march, and to get in, as I have done to-day, early! It is a perpetual struggle when one tries to push on from twenty to thirty miles a day. The bearers fall sick or get knocked up; one has to get up in the middle of the night, and arrives just as it is dark; and one feels obliged, however few our wants may be, to sacrifice even many of them. This morning the Sáni camel fell ill, and Ibrahim had to walk the stage; and one or two more bearers had fever (five out of the thirty-six had already returned to Baroda from this cause); so I was right glad when we reached this town, and seated ourselves on the bank of a fine lake, to think that we were to spend the day here. My first enjoyment was to bathe in the lake, independent of the early morning cold—very cold—bath; and I got a beautifully retired spot for dressing, and, in fact, for living in. On approaching the town, which is at the foot of hills without beauty, and in the completely desert country, through which I passed, I was wondering to myself what possible caprice could have selected the site for a town, and for the abode, as I knew it was, of one of the branches of the reigning house of Udipur; for it will generally be found

that some good solid reason has prevailed in choosing localities. But on arriving at the lake I saw at once the solution of the difficulty in the fine expanse of water before me.

The Rao (this is the title of the royal scion whose appanage this is) has just sent to me to say how happy he shall be to see me, and that he is prevented from calling himself as he is mourning for his father, who died about a month ago. I am glad enough to go and see his interior, and have sent word I will come, though possibly some old Indians would stand on etiquette, and require the first visit.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Deybar Lake. — Rao of Salumba. — Brahman Hospitality. — Rajput Architecture.

DEC. 7th. — Ginghleah, by Deybar Pal, twenty-four miles.

8th.—Karrobar, thirteen miles. My makám, as they call the camping-place in this country, was so indifferent yesterday that I could not pull out my note-book; and having no light went to bed before eight. I had intended to describe my interview with the Rao; but there is not much to say of it, except that he received me in a little room hung round with looking-glasses and china pictures—that he insisted on the Hamalls who bore me to his door coming in to look about them, and that he bored me right royally with an account of his grievances, two-thirds of which I luckily did not understand. At parting he was very earnest with me to accept a pair of shawls, dagger, &c., which he presented me with, but of course I refused, and on his sending them again to my place in the evening by his kamdar (who, like all the managing authorities I have seen yet in the towns, is of the Bannea cast, and not like himself a Rajput), I found my only refuge was by referring to the firmness with which Hindus

adhere to their customs, and the habit of the English to respect them; and accordingly that the Hindus should be equally considerate to our custom. This appeal effectually stopped their clamorous generosity. Next morning I proceeded to what is called the Pal of the Deybar. The Deybar Lake is a fine piece of water about thirty miles in circumference, and is formed by an artificial *band* of masonry crossing a valley, the face of which *band* towards the lake is very architectural and handsome, with six life-sized stone elephants on the steps on a level with the water, and extremely well sculptured. The erection must have cost a very large sum, and is creditable, both to the taste and the public spirit of the Rana who erected it, Jey Singh; but the country is so sterile, and indeed mountainous around, that I cannot perceive this accumulation of water to be of much advantage, economically considered. There is also a castle of the Rana, with a temple, on a hill above the lake, which forms quite as picturesque an object as any of the castles on the Rhine; but I understood that the Ranas never went to it, and it was consequently going to ruin. I had walked the twelve miles to the spot, on foot, and therefore did not feel inclined to mount the hill to inspect the locale. Whilst I was enjoying the scene on the Pal and the breeze which comes up very strong along the valley, a good-looking man—like a cultivator—walked up with a spear in his hand, and salaamed very graciously. I asked him who he was, and he replied with that conscious air of superiority and self-respect, which showed that

in his opinion nothing more need be said, "I am a Rajput," and he appeared quite delighted when I expressed myself pleased with this "lion" of his country. I met also with the same feeling of self-respect this morning from a Brahman, from whom my purvoe captain of horse got some sugar-canes as we passed through some fields where cultivation was busily going on; and on his desiring to pay for them, the Brahman would not hear of it, but with a smile full of kindness of heart, said, "I am a Brahman," as much as to say, a man devoted to good works—who scorns your dirty sixpences; and he added that he was delighted to show attentions to a traveller. I do not give this man as a specimen of the cast Brahman, for they are generally a worldly race enough, but to show that generosity and doing good, for good's sake, displays itself in individuals of all casts and countries, and it is delightful to find it. I thus learnt, for the first time, to appreciate an inch or two of sugar-cane, as I had started this morning without a cup of tea, so perhaps I exaggerate the beneficence of my wayfaring friend.

The country through which I have come has been almost a barren wilderness for the last 100 miles, though wherever they can get water the inhabitants use it plentifully for irrigation, and in the valley of to-day and yesterday a great breadth of wheat, and much sugar-cane, is under cultivation.

Having made a single march only to this place, and having reached it by 12 o'clock A.M., I was enabled to make myself at home in this little town,

and being lodged in a very handsome, quite architectural *Daram-Sala* adjoining a temple, with moreover the luxury of a good light in the evening, I was quite comfortable. This town is also the appanage of one of the scions of the Udipur royal family, and like one of the small German capitals, the town evidently profits by the presence of a prince. The prince himself has a handsome-looking castle; an architectural well, which, with a garden attached, made my bearers exceedingly comfortable; and the well-built temple and *Sarai*, where I was—all displayed an æsthetic feeling, as well as attention to the wants and pleasures of the public. The town is tolerably large—said to have a thousand houses, of which one hundred are Brahmans, one hundred Bunneas, eighty Bhilahis or aborigines. On walking out in the evening I saw a group of fine boys playing at ball, with an energy I never saw in the south, and on calling them up I found they consisted of four Rajputs, three Mussalmans, two *Dhobis* (washing-cast), one *Mali* (gardener), and some other I know not who. It is not only the Rajputs in this country who are handsome fellows, for some of the Bigarries, who carry loads, and who are either Bhils or Bhilahis (as they call them), were perfect models of beauty.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Udipur—Visit to Rana.—Rajput Architecture.—Day's Hog-Shooting.—Old Capital of Rajputs—Chitore—Idleness of Rajputs.

DEC. 9th.—Udipur, twenty-four miles.

10th.—I arrived at this place yesterday, at 7 P.M., and was led by my bearers to the house of the resident—a very handsome edifice, with columns of better *chunam** than one ever sees in Bombay, and the walls decorated with panels and foliage in relief; and I apprehend the workmen must have been brought from Calcutta. But the house had evidently not been inhabited for years, and there was not an article of furniture in it. Being without light and without a table or a chair for a couple of hours, having preceded my palanquin, which served in case of need as a seat, though I was in an elegantly built English house, I found myself much more uncomfortable than at my previous lodgings al fresco in the native villages, where all the accommodation of the village was always available at a moment. However, my palkie came up soon, and I got into it with great satisfaction, as a sort of refuge for the destitute.

* This is the name of a very fine mortar of India, made of sea-shells, and which, in its best qualities, as at Madras, takes a polish as fine as white marble, from which it is undistinguishable.

This morning I have had visits from the *pardhan*, as the premier is called here (a bunnea of the oswal cast), from two or three wealthy merchants, and from a Rajput baron, or *thakur*. The latter—a very handsome young man, and elegantly dressed in black velvet embroidered with gold, but with no coxcombry about him—is a great sportsman; so I detailed to him my elephant sport of Ceylon, which delighted him greatly; whilst with the merchants I descanted on the opium speculations and Ram Lall; but I found the former topic the easier of the two, though both difficult, from my very indifferent Hindustani. Indeed, I never had so many occasions for the native language as on this trip; for on nearly all other occasions I have been accompanied by some one who understands English; but now, to express the commonest want, I have to stammer out the little I know of *Moors*. I find this the most trying when I go to the chiefs' durbars, and am asked questions on matters which had not come within the range of my own personal wants. It was arranged that at 3 P.M. I should go to the durbar, and see the rana, as the chief of the Rajputs is called, and I went accordingly on elephants which he sent for me. The residency is about half-a-mile from the town and palace, which latter really is a palace, both in exterior and interior. I had expected to be disappointed, after the florid accounts Colonel Tod* had given of this building, of

* Col. Tod passed many years in Rajputana as Resident at Udipur, and devoted his life to the collection of the traditions, legends, genealogies, and literature connected with the romantic Rajput race among whom

the picturesqueness of the city, and of the beautiful lake; but I think they fully came up to his description; and, from the size, I think the whole forms a coup-d'œil superior to any combination of architecture and landscape I have ever seen. I have not looked into Heber for many years, but I conclude he gives a detailed account of the whole.

The rajah received me with very good bearing; his durbar was but slightly attended by his own people; indeed, I scarcely saw any gentry there, but my visitors of the morning. There was, however, a propriety and calm dignity about it which contrasted most favourably with the rude receptions of the Gáikwár. Ranaji, as they call the Raja, seems about thirty-six; a little dull in manner, but good-looking, and exceedingly well dressed, as all these Rajputs are. He is a good shot, and prides himself much on being able to hit, with a rifle ball, any one of four different coloured ivory balls, which a man suspends from a string on cross sticks, and twists round at about twelve yards' distance. The subject had been mentioned to me in the morning, and the topic was again reverted to, and the *machine* introduced. He also showed me some new Purdays he had just received; and I described my little French rifle that I had got from the Duc de Coislin. The presents were then introduced on trays, and appeared costly; and they pressed me so much to take them, that I feared

be was placed. He published the result of his inquiries in two very interesting quarto volumes, in which some beautiful illustrations of Rajput scenery and architecture will be found.

I should be obliged to do so, which would have been a great bore to me, as I should have had to make an equal return, and then I should have had a quantity of things I did not want. Luckily, however, they did not send them after me. I mention these matters, because I stand in a different position to Company's officers, who are under strict orders (very properly) not to receive presents, whereas the main motive for hesitation with me is my inability to make a return of equal value.

On going and returning, I perambulated nearly the whole city, which is full of interesting bits, as the artists call it, and of better architecture, with greater breadth of street, than any town I have seen in India. The favourite type is a one-storied house, the ground-floor with much deadness of wall; but on the first story, highly decorated oriels, at which the householder and his friends group themselves of an evening, with open verandahs, and other decoration, all in stone,—when a house with higher pretension is met with. To-morrow I am to go to the palace on the lake, the Jug Munda, which is said to far exceed, in costly interior decoration, the one I have seen to-day.

Dec. 11th.—I spent all the morning shooting wild hog in the rana's preserves, close to the city wall, with my young friend, Rowji Bakkat Singh Baidla, who, I find, is one of the sixteen feudal barons of Rajputana, and is the second of the whole in Tod's list. I was fortunate enough to knock over my first boar with the new French rifle, and, on giving the Rajput a shot, he

did the same at 150 yards. We found plenty of hog, and excellent broken ground, but it is poor or no sport; and when they brought me up, at the close of the day, to discharge my gun with a couple of shots, I found one of the keepers feeding the hog with pulse, and they came around him to the number of twenty or thirty. I was desired to fire, but I would as soon have shot into a pigsty. All I got by the day was a good walk, and some excellent points of view of the beautiful lake and city. I ought also to mention the most unsportsman-like appearance of my friend, arrayed in the black velvet tunic of yesterday, with a sword, a red cashmere shawl flaunting from his shoulders, and bare feet with slippers. I must do him the justice to say, however, that he walked well over a rough jungly country, and shot well.

We afterwards got on our horses, and rode to the lake-side, where we embarked in a boat, and rowed to the two island palaces, one built by Kurrum, son of the Emperor Jehanghir, when he was a refugee at Udipur; the other, by his friend, the Rana. They must have been beautiful when in their glory; but they are now dirty and out of repair, though a few thousand rupees would completely reinstate them. Tod undoubtedly exaggerates their appearance. I found that my little rifle had made such an impression at court, that I begged the young Rajput to present it in my name to the raja; and I was glad to do this, as he has furnished me with bearers, camels, &c., to Ajmir.

12th.—Chandwar, thirty-six miles. Left Udipur

at 7 A.M., and reached this place at 5 P.M., on a *sani* camel, having sent my palkie and tonjon forward, and making this detour to see the celebrated Chitore. Ibrahim on another *sani*, and two others the rana has sent with us for baggage, with half-a-dozen horsemen, complete our party. Camel-riding is undoubtedly the way to get on quick in this country; and I am much inclined to dispense with my palkie as soon as possible. It is rather painful to have human bearers when one desires to get on fast; for although it is their trade, it is very hard work if they have to go double marches, and one sees them suffering under it.

The country I have come through to the eastward of north of Udipur is a singular contrast to the rugged, broken ground on approaching the capital from the south; for, after emerging from the very remarkable amphitheatre (it is not a valley) surrounded by a double circumvallation of hills in which Udipur is situated, the route lies over a vast plain without any break in it, covered for the most part with the thorny *bir*, and the *aonla* (a bush *mimosa* with pretty acacia-like flower), though very fertile in parts, and near the villages showing much irrigation, with cotton quite ripe, sugar-cane and wheat just peeping above the surface. It is a country, however, for flocks and herds, and I see them of all kinds—from camels, who pick out their favourite *bábal* (*mimosa Arabica*), to sheep, who are here of quite a different breed to what we see in the Deccan, having white fleeces and very lank proportions. I met but few travellers or traffic, and camels seem the universal

mode of carriage, though I met one merchant from *Jaipur*, who was travelling in a light cart. To-morrow I have forty-two miles to Chitore, and am to start early, but my camel is so springy that I do not feel the least fatigued in riding him.

Dec. 14th.—Chitore, forty-two miles. Arrived here last night at 6 P.M., starting at 4 A.M., and breakfasting—en route—under a fine banyan tree. I came in rather tired, but the Jemadar suggesting that I should be champooed, the barber was sent for, and in half an hour he had squeezed out all the stiffness from my limbs, and a very comfortable lodging at the foot of the fort—being a sort of quarter guard station—received me. Chitore stands on a hill of remarkable tabular formation, exceedingly like the trap of the Deccan, but the rock is chiefly gneiss, streaked apparently with porphyry. The hill on which the fort is, appears to be about six miles long, and the fort is said to be thirty miles in circumference. A town of two or three thousand houses is at the foot of the hill, and as an example of the thin (comparatively) scattering of Rajputs in the country called Rajputana, I may mention that in this, the ancient capital of the country, the only resident Rajputs were those in the service of the Durbar, sipahis, keepers of chokies, &c., the inhabitants being chiefly bunneas, bankers, Brahmans, &c. This morning I have been up the hill and over the old site of the fort and capital,—at least, over a portion of it. The column of victory (depicted by Tod) is very elaborate, being sculptured in high relief, both inside and out, but the effect is by

no means commensurate with the labour and expense, the latter of which must have been enormous, as, independent of the carving, the stone was all brought from the Aravalli hills, at least sixty miles off. A number of ruined palaces without much interest; of temples, ditto; and a sweet secluded nook where a spring bursts out of the rock, completed the lions of the morning. I did not fall in with the Jain columns of which Tod gives a print; and, on the whole, I think the readers of Tod will not have their impressions heightened by visiting Chitore, though there is something gained by ocular inspection of a celebrated place which no reading or drawing can supply. I inquired for the locale, where the tremendous self-sacrifice of Rajput females took place,—eight or nine thousand, I think, is the number recorded,—who immolated themselves when the capital was taken by storm, but I either could not understand my guides, or they would not show it me.

I am just starting for my night's *makám*, Amirghur.

Dec. 14th.—Amirghur, twenty-two miles.

15th.—Bhilwharra, ten miles. At Amirghur, last night, on arriving I found a traveller's bungalow as I had now got on to the high-road, between Nusserabad and *Nimatch*, and I found it occupied by a sahib, Captain Mackintosh, who has Jawud, and one or two small Rajput districts under his charge. I forthwith proceeded to introduce myself, and found him just sitting down to dinner, and gladly accepted his invitation to join him. He was on his annual tour

through his districts, attended by a large camp of about twelve hundred souls, as he carries all his office about with him. He also had come a long march, and appeared to be as pleased as I was to have a companion for the evening. His dinner, like what mine would have been, consisted of but a single dish *plus* cheese; but then wine, beer, and bread were all novelties to me, and after fifteen days in the jungle it is pleasant to have a tête-a-tête Chrétienne. He gave me much information, and confirmed an opinion I had formed, that these good-looking Rajputs, whom I had seen strutting about the villages, were a race without any value for the present time, as they are too proud to work—will take no military service with us—think it a degradation even to cultivate (though I have seen some Rajputs at the plough), and by virtue of their apparent or real superiority squeeze a livelihood out of the more industrious races by whom they are surrounded. Captain Mackintosh says, that to have three or four Rajputs in a village is most fatal to its prosperity, as they curb the energies of the remainder. He also says that in a district of twelve villages, where he would be able to obtain R.20,000 of revenue, a Rajput chief or durbar would only get R.12,000, and the reason which he ascribes for this is, that under our raj the cultivator can rely fully upon our faith, and therefore will lay out capital in further cultivation with confidence; if he does so under a native power, he is liable to have additional exactions made upon him which swallow up all his produce. Certainly,

throughout the three days' march from Udipur, I have come through a country of excellent soil, with water close to the surface, but producing for the most part nothing but wild plants, bábal, bir, aonla, and dâk trees. Nor do I see any symptoms of cultivation extending itself. There is such a charm, however, in good looks, good manners, and gentility, that I do not wonder that the Rajputs fascinate so many passers-by, who see nothing to attract them in the hard-working cultivator, or the thrifty Bunnea, and yet it is to these two classes, to agriculture and commerce, that the English must look for the improvement and progress of the country, for under our rāj the craft of soldiership has disappeared, and I think happily.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Nussirabad.—Hospitality of Capt. Maitland.—Ajmir.—Col. Lowe.—Jaipur.—Native Government.

15th.—Buneyra, ten miles, to sleep. Another very picturesque castle and lake, the seat of a rajah, tributary to Udipur, and described by Heber.*

16th.—Bunaya, thirty-nine miles. A long march from 5 A.M. to 6 P.M., all on camel-back.

17th.—Nussirabad, twenty miles. I got into this cantonment at 10 A.M., and made for the travellers' bungalow. On entering the compound,* I observed symptoms of a gentleman's residence, and soon discovered that it was no public bungalow, but a private house. The butler advanced, however, with his master's compliments, that he would be delighted to receive me, but was then in his bath. I accordingly went in, dressed, bathed, breakfasted with a very agreeable, pretty hostess and her husband, the brigade major of the station, and had been some hours in the house before I learnt their names to be Captain and Mrs. Maitland.

18th.—Ajmir, thirteen miles. I was so com-

* Corruption from the Portuguese word *camponez*, and applied by the English in India to signify the grounds or enclosure in which a house stands.

fortable yesterday, and was so pleased with my quarters, after seventeen days in the jungles, that I postponed my departure here till this morning, when I came over, still on camels, in two hours,—good going enough, as we had to cross a range of hills. I arrived about 9, and found Colonel Lowe, who was expecting me, just returning from shooting; and with his well-appointed English costume, his ruddy glow of health, and clear grey eye, and good bag of snipe behind him, it required but little imagination to think that my worthy and much-esteemed host was receiving me at his own place in Scotland, and not in the centre of tropical India. At Ajmir, I found my overland letters of the 1st Dec. mail; the second one, which is now in, having gone unfortunately to Jaipur. I also had to make arrangements for my passage onwards, and find I can get to Jaipur (eighty miles) in one day, and thence to Agra in three: so I start the day after to-morrow, to give my servant a start on a camel. Nothing to see in Ajmir; have been through the city this afternoon, where the lion is the Jain temple, figured by Tod, which was converted by Akbar into a mosque. The sowkars (bankers) have some handsome large houses in the town, which seems active and thriving, but not large.

19th.—Have sent on my palanquin and Ibrahim with the camels, and I follow to-morrow, 4 A.M., to Dudu, when I get into a native carriage, and go on forty miles more to Jaipur. This has been effected by Colonel Lowe having sent a swift camel yesterday

to Jaipur, who started at 11 A.M., and was to reach this morning at 8 A.M. (not bad work, eighty miles in twenty-one hours), and would thus post horses for me all the way.

20th.—Dudu (what a name!), forty-two miles. Have had a most delightful ride here in four hours; delicious climate and excellent riding-ground. Kishanghur, nineteen miles, the seat of a Rajput rajah, a very pretty town; indeed, I have seen no such picturesque towns in India as these Rajput cities; and this one, with its castle on the hill, battlements, and well-built private houses, ranks well among them.

Just had a visit from the thákur of the village. He is uncle of the Maharajah of Jeypore, and came in some state with his (native) carriage-and-four, elephants, &c., — very inferior-looking in appearance, both he and his son, to the Rajputs I have seen in Méwar.

I found the Jaipur raja's carriage, with four horses, here, all ready for me, and I am only waiting for my cup of tea to start onwards.

7 P.M., Jaipur. Reached this place in excellent time, and got over my journey of eighty-four miles with more ease and satisfaction than any day's travel in India that I can recollect. I have never traversed eighty miles of more waste ground than I have been over to-day; and it seems irreclaimable, from the nature of the soil—deep sand. Méwar is in great part waste; but the soil is good, and the surface is covered with luxuriant bábal, with water close to the surface; and all that is required is population and

capital. But on the sands of this country scarcely a bush is to be seen; and the overflowing of the Nile and Rothschild's purse would scarcely produce a decent farm.

21st.—Have been over the famed city of Jaipur, and have been grievously disappointed, both with the city and with the palace, which Heber, if I recollect right, extols so highly. The town, from having been built at once and on a regular plan; presents, from its regularity, its wide streets at right angles to each other, and its *places*, or squares, at the junction,—an effect which is no doubt bold and imposing; but the uniformity of the architecture, and the palpable imposition, which the eye cannot possibly blink, gives the whole affair the effect of a house built with cards. *All* the houses have apparently an upper story; some, such as the palace, three or four, with ornamented windows, &c., but their façade, in truth, is nothing but a wall pierced for sham windows, and at all the angles and breaks in the street the humbug presents itself. The façade of the palace, which goes up high into the air, might be shaved off from above the first story, without the least injury to the building; and as to the marble palaces which one hears of, I scarcely saw a square foot of marble in any portion of the erections, the surface being merely chunam, though, I admit, of a very good quality.

22nd.—Had a delightful gallop this morning, on a very fresh Cattywar horse, to Ambér, the old capital of this Raj, and was extremely pleased with its fine bold palace on the hill, with the town in the gorges

of the valley, and the varied views in the distance. It is floridly described, as usual, by Heber; but not so much overdone as he usually paints his scenes. I have fallen in with his work at this place, and am able to compare his pictures with the original; but I am too busy with sight-seeing and overland letters to be able to devote much time to reading.

Having come now about 500 miles through native states, I am able to form some opinion as to their apparent prosperity; and I must say I am somewhat struck to see so few symptoms of improvement, of increased cultivation, or of any other index of progress; and yet they have had thirty years of uninterrupted peace, and *complete protection from without*, —a state of things unknown to them for centuries. Strange enough, too, without any exception, all the English administrators whom I have met with or heard of in these provinces concur in thinking that native Rajput administration is essentially bad. I say it is strange; for I have observed generally that Englishmen engaged in the administration of native states become great partisans of native government, in preference to the English; and this very country has had most warm advocates in Colonel Tod and Colonel Sutherland, who each had the whole charge of the country.

CHAPTER XXV.

Effects of Native Government in Rajputana.—Fine Tomb at Futtehpur.—Agra.—The Táj.

23rd.—Basáwar eighty-four miles, viz., to Maumpore fifty-nine and a half, in the rajah's carriage with four horses, over a road of deep sand and through a sterile, uncultivated country, and to Basawar, twenty-four and a half miles in palkie, the first time I have entered it, except for sleeping, on my journey; a long day, having started at 5, and not arriving till 10 P.M. The carriages of which I speak are said to have been used from time immemorial, and the yoking is exactly that of classical times. They are extremely well suited to the country, and indeed a pair of horses would be wholly unable to drag a carriage through the heavy sands.

To-morrow I leave Rajputana, and I must say the appearance of the country from first entering it to its furthest limits does not say much for native government. They have now had thirty years of uninterrupted prosperity, with all the benefits of a protected frontier, and nothing to pay for it; yet I see the greater part (nine-tenths) of the country uncultivated, though much of the soil, the plains of Méwar in particular, appears very fertile, and water is, in most

parts, abundant and near the surface. I am aware a traveller going through the country so rapidly as I do can see nothing but the outer features of the landscape, the extent and kind of cultivation, the build and appearance of the races, and the manner and style of the villages; and therefore I do not dwell much on my conclusions; but I saw nowhere any symptoms of increased cultivation, or of capital laid out in agricultural improvements; and both on this trip, and in a former one through a native state, a murder was committed almost under my nose, and was apparently regarded as a common event. The province of Candésh, again, which is under the Company's Raj, is probably more fertile and still more uncultivated than any part of the country I have now come through: so, possibly, the general conclusion to be drawn is, that when once a country in India has been depopulated by predatory warfare and famine, as both these countries have been in the present century—the iron hand of Holkar having been laid on each—it requires an exceedingly long period to restore the country to its former prosperity.

24th.—Futtehpur Sikra, forty miles. A long, wearisome march on camels, and, what was worse, supperless to bed. At Basawar, last night, I found that Ibrahim, my servant, had a fresh access of fever, having before had two or three attacks; so I ordered him to come on slowly in my palanquin, and I determined to trust to the chance of the ruined city of Futtehpur for a dinner. I started about 6, and reached the mokám at half-past 3, and took up my

abode in the duftur khana of Akbar's palace. The building containing the tomb of the celebrated saint, Akbar's contemporary, is hard by, and is remarkably fine; the gateway, a bold Saracenic arch, about 120 feet high, built of red sand-stone, intermixed with a light-coloured stone, and bands of white marble, makes altogether a most pleasurable impression. The saint's shrine, a small temple in the *enceinte*, but not in the middle, of a noble quadrangle, has its external walls filled in with perforated marble-work, quite filigree in execution, and similar to what I had seen at Arungzebe's tomb in Aurungabad, and at the Jain temples on Mount Abu. The cicerone who did the honours to me described this as one of the three wonders of Hindostan; the Taj at Agra, and the Jama Masjid at Delhi, being the two others.

Having no servant with me, I despatched a messenger into the village to get me some *chaupátis* (a native cake made of wheat) and some milk, as I had my tea with me. But the cicerone of the temple, one Bisharat Ali, a venerable old man, who proclaims himself descendant of the saint, forestalled my messenger, and brought me some tea and *chaupátis* of his own, and salaamed down to the ground when I recorded the fact in a certificate, which he added to his very large store of autographs (containing, among others, Bishop Heber's, Lords Gough and Hardinge's, and my friend, Prince A. Soltikoff's), and I added besides a few rupees.

25th to 29th.—Agra, twenty-four miles. Got in

here this morning to Mr. Jackson's, the collector, to breakfast, he having sent out a buggy to meet me half-way.

My journey for the last sixty miles has been through almost uninterrupted cultivation, the first forty miles being through the Bhurtpore Rajah's territory, the remainder through the British. Several of the villages are inhabited by Mussalman cultivators, several by Brahmans, the remainder, I suppose, by Játs. It is pleasing to see such a breadth of country under cultivation, especially after the wastes of Rajputana, but they do not appear to be such good farmers as in Gujarát: the fields are foul with weeds; and at the wells, instead of the simple contrivance of two lines to the leathern bucket, by which one man, with one pair of bullocks, keeps up a continual supply, these wells have always two men, and usually three, when two pairs of bullocks are employed.

Have lionised most of the sights at Agra; the two celebrated tombs, Nur Mahal's and Akbar's, the Pearl Mosque (Moti Masjid) in the fort, the gates of Somnáth, and the tomb of Nur Mahal's father over the Jamna. The Táj, or Nur Mahal's tomb, is one of the few celebrated pieces of architecture that seems to disappoint no one. I have seen no view that does anything like justice to it, especially to the garden front, where the blending of the avenue of dark cypresses with the white marble of the edifice has something indescribably beautiful. Akbar's tomb is not nearly so happily imagined, and is much inferior

in architectural pretension to the tomb at Futtehpur, but it is imposing from its size, and from the large architectural garden about it, and it likewise impresses one with an interest from containing the ashes of so great, wise, and good a sovereign as Akbar, having, so far as my historical knowledge extends, no superior, and I think no equal.

There is something about the monuments at Agra which is very gratifying—I mean the decorous manner in which they are kept. They are as neat and clean as St. Peter's, at Rome, and cleaner-looking than St. Paul's; and the gardens about them are in full bearing with oranges and roses, which quite cover the expense of keeping the premises in repair and good order. This arrangement, I believe, has been organised by my host Mr. Jackson, who is the collector here, and a very active man who has evidently been improving the city of Agra exceedingly—knocking down houses, straightening streets, and ventilating and draining the whole town very effectually.

28th. Paid another visit to the Táj this morning, and spent two or three hours there alone very agreeably. I think it is the most beautiful building in the world; at least, to me it affords more pleasurable sensations and prettier points of view than anything I have before seen. The arabesque ornaments of inlaid marbles are so like the *pietra dura* work of Florence, and have so much of a European character about them, that it is difficult to believe that an Italian artist had not something to do

with the erection; yet Tavernier, who witnessed the commencement and the termination of the work, which extended over twenty years, says nothing on this subject; and yet the employment of European artists would probably have called forth a remark, and the apology he makes for admiring the building would seem to show negatively that no European was employed on it. Rajah Lal Sing, the Sikh "*Proscrit*," with his nephew, called upon us this morning. This is the first Sikh I have seen. He is, I believe, of Brahman family, but has risen from a situation of much obscurity, having originally been employed in the Tolsey Khána, or wardrobe of Runjit Singh. He appears intelligent and good-tempered, and was beautifully dressed in green silk, much embroidered with gold.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Muttra.—The Mathura of the Hindus.—The Holy Bindráband.—Delhi.

DEC. 29th.—Muttra, thirty-two miles. Rode and drove along an excellent-made road to this place with my host Mr. Jackson, and took up our quarters at some very agreeable people's, Mr. and Mrs. Alexander.

30th.—Muttra is the best native town I have ever seen, and with its neighbour, Bindráband, is one of the most sacred in India in the eyes of pious Hindus. There are two palaces (this is the right word) belonging to native merchants; one to the great opium-speculator Luckmichand—whose case lately decided by our court in Bombay, and again by the Privy Council in England, had pre-occupied the attention of the whole commercial world in India.* The palace of this merchant prince would do great credit to any capital in Europe—and it resembles more the doge's palace in Venice than any other building I know. The neighbouring rajahs and considerable people of the Hindus have each their establishment at this place, consisting, for the most part, of a *Kuj*,

* See an account of these remarkable cases, which throw so much light on the commercial classes of India, in the Oriental Cases published by the author.

or Darramsála, and temple; and amongst these, some are of great beauty, such as the Rajah's of Bhurtpore. The streets are extremely clean, and are kept well watered by the inhabitants at their own expense; but there is a profusion of monkeys and dogs about the town, both of which, but especially the former, must be exceedingly annoying to the shopkeepers, with their exposed wares and eatables for sale.

Bindrában, the seat of some of Vishnu's celebrated exploits as Crishna, is still more holy than Muttra, from which it is distant six miles. We rode there before breakfast this morning, and explored its beauties. One of the most remarkable temples is a new erection, not finished, dedicated to Vishnu, by a brother of the opium sett's Luckmichand, he himself (the elder brother) being a Jain or Shráwak. This temple, it is said, will cost, first and last, seventy laks (700,000*l.*), and is built apparently upon the model of those at Conjiveram. Like those, also, the pyramidal steeples are not of stone, but chunam, adorned with unsightly figures of Vishnu. The elder brother, who is a bit of a philosopher, and who, as belonging to the Jain creed, rejects idols, rather laughs at his brother for the profuse expenditure he has incurred "in building so expensive a house for God, whom nobody ever saw!"

But the chief ornaments of Bindrában are the *Kujes* of wealthy Hindus, and the Ghâts which belong to them on the side of the river, and which extend continuously for about a mile on the western

bank of the Jamna. They also admit of an easy approach to the stream for bathers, and many of them have considerable architectural pretensions. The town is dirty, with narrow, winding streets; and the population, though large, does not appear attractive. Indeed, I have seen nowhere in this part of India such an intelligent-looking, handsome population as I have seen in the holy towns of the Deccan, such as Wai and Nasik, especially the well-dressed Brahmani girls, with their purples and crimsons and graceful *sáris*, for which the dark, dirty-looking petticoat of this part of India is but a sorry exchange. Passed a very agreeable evening at this house last night, which is the best *monté* of any I have seen since I left Bombay; and as both husband and wife are very musical, the time slipped away pleasantly.

Jan. 1.—Delhi, ninety miles. Arrived here this morning at 7 A.M., having left Muttra yesterday at 11, the first thirty-five miles in the great opium sett's * carriage, which Mr. Jackson procured for me, and the remainder of the way in a palanquin dâk, which the said sett had laid for me. Found a room ready for me at Sir Theophilus Metcalfe's, brother to the late Sir Charles; but the whole party a-bed, as they had danced in the new year. The grounds surrounding Sir Thomas's house are in size and appearance quite a park; and the whole thing, with its exceedingly large house, is evidently the hobby of his

* "Sett" is the honorific term applied to all great merchants, from the Sanscrit *Sethi*.

life, and he is said to have laid out three laks of rupees (30,000*l.*) upon it. But after all, why not this hobby as well as another? He has had this appointment thirty-four years, and has his children about him; is a great man in this country, and would be nothing, "not even an academician," at home; so I think there is some philosophy in his apparent determination to live and die here.

He mentioned a curious fact at breakfast. A respectable banian woman had lately been sent for by her family from a distant station, and a male relation was sent to escort her home. She travelled, as is usual with Hindu women, with her jewels; and, on approaching the Delhi districts, the man took her on one side of the road, tied her up, despoiled her of her ornaments, and left her with the intention, as he told her, of getting a large stone to knock her on the head. He did not return, however; and in the morning, she having attracted some passers-by with her cries, they made search for the man, and at a short distance they found him lying dead, with a large stone by his head; and the medical man who examined the corpse had no doubt that he had been bitten by a snake, who was probably coiled up under the stone.

The principal lions of Delhi are the Jama Masjid, the King's palace, and the Kutab Minar, which is fourteen miles off, in one of the old capitals which this district has been selected for, it is not very easy to see why; for it presents neither good soil, good water, nor strength of situation. The valley

of the Jamna has none of the advantages which one might suppose to belong to the valley of a tropical river descending from a lofty range of mountains, and which its neighbour the Ganges possesses. The Jamna rarely overflows, though it occasionally rises sixty feet in its bed, which is accordingly very deep. The soil in the neighbourhood is impregnated with salt, the water brackish, and rock appears above the surface very plentifully; and yet so far back as history can penetrate Delhi, Indraprestha, and Shahjehanabad, one or other of them has always been the capital of an empire.

Delhi is very remarkable as an Indian city from its abundance of Mahomedans, the proportion to Hindus being about one to two; in no other place that I have been in is it more than one to ten. The principal mosque, the Jama Masjid, has its steps covered with idlers, with traffickers, and vendors of doves, just as one might suppose was the case with the Temple at Jerusalem; and the Masjid, from its large proportions, is very imposing.

I spent a day at the *Kutab*, Sir Theophilus taking me over, about twelve miles in his small chariot, drawn by four camels, who did the journey very well in a little more than an hour and a half. Camel carriages seem very well adapted for these heavy sands; and at Nussirabad, where I first saw them, all the carriages were jogging along with their pair of camels, and a rider on each, very cosily. The Kutab, like most of the Mussalman buildings I have seen, is much more imposing in reality than the

drawings of it one sees would give one reason to suppose. There is a controversy whether it is of Hindu or Mahomedan architecture; but the mode in which the Arabic inscriptions blend with the style of building, and its general imposing character (so unlike the scrimped over-elaborated work of the Hindus) does not leave a doubt on my mind that the Mussalmans were its erectors; and I see no reason to doubt that the account given by Mr. Elphinstone in his history is the correct one. Sir Theophilus, however, who has lived by its side for the last thirty-four years, is equally clear that it is Hindu.

The palace at Delhi is remarkable from its extent, from the immense number of inhabitants, shops, &c., which it contains (who are all under the exclusive jurisdiction, even to life and death, of the king of Delhi), and from one being able to realise, in its outer court, the daily durbars and inspection of troops, horses, camels, elephants, &c., which the emperors were accustomed to hold, as also the more select durbar which they held in the afternoon, in the inner quadrangle, both of which Bernier describes graphically. Besides these points of interest, there is no architectural beauty to commend, except the outer wall, which is very imperial, and shines out, in the city of Delhi with a considerable enceinte around it, right royally.

Although the king has the power of death, he does not exercise it without our intervention; and some few years ago, when one closely connected with the royal family murdered his wife, the king requested

Sir Theophilus to try the case, which he did; and the facts being proved clearly against the prisoner, when Sir Theophilus asked the king what the punishment should be, he replied, "My laws are like yours: blood for blood;" and the royal scion was hung.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Umbála.—Snowy Range.—Excellent Roads of Upper Provinces.—Change Route to Nepál and the Eastward.—Sáháranpur.—Native Witnesses.—Meerut.

JAN. 5th.—Umbála, 133 miles. Arrived here last night at midnight, having left Delhi in palanquin dák at 7 A.M. on the 3rd. I ran to Karnál, seventy-six miles, where I bathed and stopped two hours; and then came on here. Only one meal in two days, which is short commons all the world over!

At Karnál I got the first view of the Himalayahs, and all the day the sight of their snowy tops delighted me. The whole road from Delhi an uninteresting plain as usual, but with none of the cultivation which is so remarkable for fifty miles on both sides of Agra, where, though the soil is by no means good, and the water generally brackish, there is an uninterrupted breadth of cultivation, and a thicker population than I have seen anywhere in India; said to be thicker than Belgium. The roads through the Upper Provinces are certainly very striking; on the main lines quite as good as—and very like—the old turnpikes of England; on many of the cross roads, better than cross roads in England. They undoubtedly have an advantage here, in the uninterrupted level plains,

intersected by no ravines as with us in the Deccan, and which, in fact, enable a buggy to traverse the country in its whole extent, and in any direction, without any made road at all. When one talks of the want of intercommunication in India, it ought to be observed that, for eight months in the year, no country in the world affords such natural resources—such few obstructions for travel in all directions; and it is this facility for moving about which probably led to India's early civilisation; there is also an excellent material for roads in the kankar, or lime concretions, which they find so plentifully a few feet below the surface. Still, these advantages are not so preponderating over those of the Bombay presidency, as to account for the difference. Agra, for example, 839 miles distant from Calcutta, 848 miles from Bombay, is reached by ordinary post in five days from the former, while it takes eight days for the latter. So this place, Umbála, which is about 1100 miles distant from both places, can be reached in ten days from Calcutta, by palanquin dâk, while it has taken me exactly forty, pushing on with all the speed possible, and having great advantages afforded me, at various parts of my route, from Bombay. The conclusion I draw is, that the hand of government has been more beneficially employed in the one presidency than in the other.

Jan. 10th.—Umbála is said to be the finest military station in India. Although it has only been made about six years, the trees which have been planted form quite a distinguishing feature; and I

certainly have seen no station in this presidency to compare to it; and its extent of parade-ground—twenty-five square miles—gives it a character that few can claim. The lower range of the Himalayah is only twenty miles off; and at this time the *Chur*, and many of the heights, are covered with snow, while on fine days the distant summits, Jamnotra, 21,000 feet high, and others, stand out with their sparkling tops glittering in the setting sun.

The Erskines want me to go with them to *Nepál*, to which John Erskine has been just appointed Resident, and return to Bombay viâ Calcutta, instead of by the Indus; and there is much to be said for the idea, as I should see a more interesting country; in fact, should see Lucknow and the distant Katmandu—should have all the advantages of company instead of solitude.

Jan. 11th.—Heavy rain for the last three days—heavier than they have here during the monsoon. Have determined on returning by the Indus.

Jan. 13.—Vacillating people ought not to keep journals, for they are like an uneasy conscience.

Having determined on the 11th to return by the Indus, I determined on the 12th to make Lucknow, Katmandu, and Benares my return route, preferring the agrémens of those places with the company of the Erskines to Simlah three feet deep in snow—Lahore with not a soul there I know—eight days' camel-ride to Multan, and the eighteen days' solitary dropping down the river Indus to Karachi: and as I am travelling for pleasure, and certainly shall not

have another opportunity for seeing such a wild and little visited country as Nepal,—the most striking spot, according to Prince Waldemar of Prussia, in the whole of India,—I yield to the temptation willingly.

Saw a little discrowned royalty yesterday in the person of the ex-Maha-Rajah of Lahore, Dhulip Singh, who is on his way to his place of honourable relegation, Futtehpur, on the Ganges. He is a fine boy of eleven years old, and is accompanied by his relative, a younger boy, the son of Shere Singh. They were calling on the general here, Sir Dudley Hill, and the boys seemed amused by being led through, and introduced to, all the intricacies of a well-mounted English establishment.

It seems lucky that I have given up my Simla trip, for we see it from the station enveloped in one mass of snow, and we have letters from there this morning which state that the weather is most gloomy, and that the inhabitants are perfect prisoners in their houses.

13th.—Sáháranpur, sixty miles. Left Umbála yesterday, at 4 P.M., in four palanquins; and we reached this place at 12 A.M.—road bad from the late rains, and our bearers at the last relay were not forthcoming. Erskine—who was a-head of us—had gone on, and when I reached the Choki,* I found

* The post station, at which relays of palanquin-bearers are placed. A relay of bearers consists of nine or ten, including the *masálchi*, or torch-bearer, and the stage is usually eight miles, which they accomplish at about three and a half miles an hour.

M. and her ayah in tribulation, the few bearers present refusing to take them on. Luckily Colonel Benson was there, just arrived at his tents, on his march Calcuttawards; so he sent us in to Sáháranpur on his elephant. This is a very pretty station, and the large botanical garden, the government stud, containing 750 horses, and the snowy range nearer than at Simla, afforded us plenty of amusement for all day.

Jan. 18th.—Meerut, seventy-two miles. Left Sáháranpur yesterday at 8, dined last night at Mozuffernuggur, and got in here this morning by 7 A.M. The country through which we came (the upper Doáb) an uninterrupted breadth of cultivation, at least all I saw in the daytime was so,—principally wheat, which is not irrigated, and much sugar-cane; scarcely any villages on the road, however, notwithstanding all this cultivation.

A strange sight at Sáháranpur yesterday morning, a number of persons, many of them very well dressed —tied together by a rope—under charge of a Naik and ten men; and on inquiry who they were, we found they were witnesses! going up to the native Cutcherry.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

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Cawnpur.—Improving State of Country.—Lucknow.—Elephant-Fight.—Visit to King.

JAN. 23.—Cawnpur, 259 miles. We left Meerut on the morning of the 19th, ran for twenty-four hours to Alighur, a large cantonment, where we breakfasted and lunched, and left again at 4 P.M.;—going out the first fifteen miles in a buggy, we then ran on to this place, only stopping once a day for a couple of hours, and half an hour in the mornings to give Mrs. Erskine a cup of tea. When we arrived at the last Choki, fifteen miles from Cawnpur, where we had ordered a carriage to meet us, but which was not there, we found no bearers; so at twelve o'clock at night, we were set down in our palkiés under a tree, and the bearers refused to go any further. We were obliged to make the best of it;—sent off a man to Cawnpur for a carriage and other bearers, and then bribed our bearers—after much difficulty—to carry us on a mile and a half further to the travellers' bungalow, where we remained till morning.

I feel very glad to have seen this part of the country, which I am now traversing; the road all the way from Meerut is not only as good as, but positively better than, any turnpike-road in England during the palmiest days of turnpikes, and, from the

dead level of the country, a single horse or a pair of bullocks can trot along with a heavy load behind most easily. The consequence of this fine road is, that the traffic upon it is very great, presenting a livelier scene than anything I had seen in India; and also evidently introducing new modes of conveyance, for I see the natives adopting small single horse carriages instead of the bullock cart, which is the ultimatum of speed they had previously arrived at. Another remarkable indication of the value of the road is shown in the quantity of cotton coming along it, going downwards, although the Ganges is not above five or six miles to the left, and the Jamna also on the right at some thirty or forty.

The country, as before, is one uninterrupted field of wheat, barley, and a pulse called thull, with patches of sugar-cane, some opium, and a little indigo, but a much better soil than the land on the other side the Jamna, where they are obliged to irrigate their wheat; and in the whole distance from Sáháranpur, I have not seen half a mile of jungle. At Alighur, we lunched with Mr. Tyler, the collector, where we found a brother collector and the commissioner of revenue enjoying their (prolonged) Christmas. Tyler mentioned to me that when he first came into the district—about twenty years ago—the cultivation was not one-third what it is now, and he had lately been on a rising piece of ground near the Ganges (a remarkable locality in these plains) from which, when he first arrived, he had been able to see nothing but jungle tenanted by deer, tigers, and hog, but which

now has *wholly* given place to the plough, and new villages are springing up every day. The consequence is, that with a good season like the last food is very cheap, wheat is now selling fifty seers or 100 lbs. the rupee. At Umbála it was forty seers, and at this place it is thirty-five seers. At Agra, again, it was a maund (80 lbs.) for the rupee (2*s*.).

Jan. 25th.—On calculating my time and my movements with Erskine this morning, I find that I am running myself to the very margin, without a day to spare, "for any moving accident by flood or field," if I am to embark by the steamer at Calcutta on the 8th of March; and he strongly recommends my giving myself a month more, by which means I shall be able to give Katmandu a full fortnight, to make three or four marches probably into the interior towards Thibet, and then on my return to see Bènares, Gayah, Tirhut, and the garden of India, leisurely. By the present arrangements I shall only be able to stay three days in the valley of Nepal—after a 'six days' climb to get there—and shall then have to descend the mountains at the same slow pace, with six hundred miles—day and night—palanquin dâk to Calcutta, at the close of it.

They have a regiment of Sikhs here, and I saw some recruits at drill last night, remarkably well-grown, fine young men, and very active, much more so they tell me than the Hindustanies, who malign and fear the Sikhs, while these on the other hand have a profound contempt for Jack Sepoy. Indeed, it seems from all one hears of the late

campaigns, that if our sepoys had not been well chequered with Europeans, the Sikhs would have made mince-meat of the former.

27th.—Lucknow, forty-seven miles. Arrived here yesterday, trotting over most comfortably in six hours in one of the king's carriages, which Colonel Sleeman had procured for me, over a good macadamised road, which has been lately made at an expense of two laks (£20,000). Colonel Sleeman is unfortunately absent, marching through the districts, but he has placed the residency at my disposal, and has urged me most warmly to use it as my own house, and to ask to it any of the society established here, whom I wish to see. The residency is, I believe, the best in India, as there is an excellent three-storied dwelling-house, on the type of one of the best Calcutta-houses, and the public rooms for entertaining are in a separate building. The doctor, assistant-resident, and engineer officer, all called here last night, volunteering their services to do the honours of the place, and laying down the program of the lionising operations. Amongst these it seems the king is to give us a public breakfast, and I, on the other hand, am to give him a return one at the residency. We are also to have a *combat des animaux*, which Erskine and I have especially bespoken, and the little doctor promises to get up the best nach which India can now produce. Having heard much of the fertility of Oude, I was greatly disappointed at the appearance of the country between this and Cawnpur: great tracts of jungle,

sand, and uncultivated land, give it a very different appearance from the country I had just left, but I hear that this tract is one of the worst portions of the country.

Half-way we saw one of the native collectors encamped with a large retinue, amongst which were some six-pounders, which are frequently resorted to here, in order to collect the revenue. The other day some smart firing on an occasion of this kind was heard at Cawnpur, and some of the cannon-balls fell in the cantonment. The king, it is said, is very dissolute, and lives wholly with low people—fiddlers, and such like, of whom he frequently makes his chief officers and collectors. Still the people we met on the road were a fine-looking, well-fed race, and, to the eye, no appearance of suffering or mis-government presented itself. The inhabitants I suspect are of a vigorous race, with whom mis-government has its limits, and who know how to protect themselves when it is carried too far. Hence, the employment of six-pounders above alluded to.

I have determined on giving another month to my tour, so I shall be able to see well the valley of Katmandu, as well as Benares and Tirhut.

Jan. 28th.—Lucknow is a very picturesque city, covering an immense extent of ground, with masjids at every turn, with garden-houses in the interior, and even cultivators' gardens, and from the number of natives riding about on elephants, and with large cortèges of horses, giving one a good idea of what Delhi or Agra must have been in the olden time.

The architecture is all very degenerate, and, from the absence of stone in the neighbourhood, chunam is nearly always the external coating over brick of every building one sees. The consequence is an unsubstantial look about the edifices which is unpleasing. Last night we visited the tomb of the late Padsha, which is in a state of preparation for a fête to be given at the next new moon, and a collection of candelabra and glass chandeliers of all sizes and of the most fantastic forms and colours is gathered together for the ceremony; the whole, when illuminated, will, no doubt, have a very fine effect, though much in Vauxhallish taste. This morning we visited the palace of the late king, which is full of pictures, European furniture, bijouterie, &c.; some good—the greater part rubbish, but all expensive. The throne of gold, with rubies and diamonds inlaid, would be very magnificent if it were kept in good order, but the whole is in such a dirty state that the effect is *mesquin* enough. The present king, following the usual native example, objects to living in the palace of his predecessor, and in consequence every thing is allowed to go to rack and ruin.

Jan. 29th.—To-day we had what the natives call a grand *tumásha* at the king's palace, the king having given us and all the Europeans of the station a public breakfast. He did not come forward himself, but sent the heir-apparent—a youth of eleven years old—to represent him. We sat down about one hundred, Europeans and nobles of the court mixed together; and as they were exceedingly well-dressed,

—as his troops, amounting to about 3000 men, were well appointed, — the regiment of cavalry indeed being quite as good-looking as any of ours,—and as state elephants, elephant-carriages, and all kinds of sowwári were present in great abundance, the show was, on the whole, interesting. A program of the whole was sent me the night before, by which I was informed that the minister was to come for me at nine o'clock; that, on arriving at the palace, the heir-apparent was to receive me, and that I was to lead him by his right hand to the breakfast-table, &c. &c. After breakfast was over we adjourned to see some wild-beast fights, and saw a very animated combat between two elephants, in which one knocked down the other, and they both rolled over down a steep bank into the river Gumti. We feared at first that the mahout or rider was killed, but they managed to pull him away from under the gigantic and infuriated beast. We had then fights of black buck, fights of rams, and some sword-play; and then adjourned to another court, where some buffaloes (a male and female) held the field against tigers and a bear, and the former carried off all the honours of the day. The tigers, three in number, and noble-looking animals, did not exhibit the least courage, but slank away and turned tail very despicably from the buffaloes, who charged them manfully. This was all very tame.

After the combats were over, Captain Bird (the assistant resident), Erskine, and myself had an interview with the king. We found him in the new

palace he has built, dressed in his royal robes, and covered with precious stones, the greater number of which were huge uncut emeralds. He was very affable, showed us all his crowns, nine in number (which was said to be a great mark of condescension), and numbers of his jewels; and having asked whether I should like to see a review of his troops, appeared delighted when I expressed a wish to do so. This man has only come to the throne about three years. He is about thirty-six years of age, with a sensual but very good-natured expression, and is not bad-looking. He is said to be a thorough sensualist, passes his time wholly with fiddlers and dancing-girls, and avoids the company both of Europeans and of the respectable noblemen of his court. On the whole, however, he made a more favourable impression on me than all I had previously heard of him led me to expect.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Lucknow.—Establishment founded by Gen. Martin.—State of Kingdom of Oude.

FEB. 1st.—Yesterday we gave a return fête to the king at the residency; and he, as usual, was represented by the little prince. They came on elephants, and with the different omlahs (noblemen) of the court made a goodly cortège. The banqueting-rooms at the residency are very spacious, more so than those at the palace; so the ceremonial had fair play. After breakfast, which the Mussulman guests partook of with appetite, we adjourned to a balcony, from which we witnessed some wrestlers, sword-players, antelope and ram fighting, &c.; and then the ceremony of taking leave was gone through, and the hars of silver thread put round our necks, as at the palace. These necklaces are worth, the best of them, eight rupees (or sixteen shillings) each, and the smaller ones three each; so Mrs. Erskine's ayah was much delighted at receiving the four I had been presented with. Yesterday I visited the schools at the Martinière, one of the establishments founded under the will of the late General Martin, the Frenchman who, in the Company's service, amassed much wealth, and who died in 1800. The establishment is located in a most eccentric palace, built by the General for his own

residence, and apparently on his own designs, at an expense of 160,000*l.* He appears to have imported a number of artificers, most likely Italians; for the rooms are decorated profusely with arabesques, bas-reliefs, and other ornaments in the Italian style, many of them of great beauty; and the external architecture is crowned profusely with casts of figures, some after the antique, some in modern fashion; and the modeller appears to have formed a school in the city, which lasts to this day, and its works may be seen in the different palaces of the king and noblemen. General Martin's will, by which he made the East India Company his heir, on the condition of carrying out various charitable requests, was subject to much litigation both in Calcutta and England; but finally, under a scheme of the Supreme Court at Calcutta, the school or college here was erected (*inter alia*), and is maintained at an expense of about 3600*l.* per annum, besides large sums from time to time for repairs. The engineer, Captain Sim, told me that he was now about to lay out 4000*l.* in the repairs of the building and roads; for there is a kind of park about the house, with a fine carriage-drive through it.

The college contains now about 120 boys, principally English and half-casts, though there is a sprinkling of Mussalmans and Hindus. The greater number are boarded and lodged free of expense, and there are even six Mussalman boarders; but the Mussalman Omlahs generally are unwilling to send their sons to an establishment where there is such an

indiscriminate mixture of ranks; and I do not wonder at their reluctance, especially as the distance of the college from their own homes in the city (from three to five miles) is so great. There is a principal, maintained at 720*l.* per annum, who is a wrangler from Cambridge; a head-master, at 480*l.*; and two other Europeans, at 180*l.* and 144*l.* There are also masters for instruction in Persian and Arabic. But English appears to be the basis of all instruction; and certainly the advocates of English education could not point to this establishment as a good illustration of their views. The English boys all belong to the humbler classes; and their countenances and manner show that no intellectual development belongs to their stock. They appear healthy, and would form admirable materials for indoctrinating with the useful arts, as carpenters, bricklayers, turners, dyers; but it is quite clear they never can become scholars; and, although the greater number of them are of pure English blood, one can perceive, by their defective pronunciation of native words, that they are more Indians than English; and I hear from the masters that they speak Hindustani among one another, in the playground, from preference. The principal, Mr. Clint, as well as a very sensible man, Mr. Crank, the head-master, fully agreed with me, that it would be more desirable to train up these youths as mechanics than under the present system; but he said nothing would cause more offence in the school than the propagation of such a notion; and I understand the usual answer made, when any inquiry is addressed to

a boy as to what vocation he looks forward to, is, *Literature.*

This kingdom of Oude, as our government has allowed it to be called—though, from its size, mode of erection, and necessary subordination to the paramount power of India, it would have been more properly designated as a soubah or province—appears to be in a most critical and interesting position. It has usually been estimated that its annual revenue ought to amount to two millions sterling; but, from its bad management, improvident grants, and widely diffused disorganisation, the actual revenue collected last year was under 750,000*l.*; at the same time, it seems that the expenditure is a million and a half per annum; and, what is worse, instead of being laid out on essentials—on the payment of troops, police, roads, and the necessary expenses of government,—it is fooled away by the king in the most reckless and improvident manner. His tastes lead him exclusively to the society of fiddlers, amongst whom he spends all his time, composing songs, &c., and lavishing on the most unworthy individuals not only large sums of money (I heard of 30,000*l.* to one fiddler), but actually conferring upon them the highest appointments of the state, to the disgust, of course, of all his respectable omlahs. The disorganisation of the kingdom is such, that Colonel Sleeman, the resident, has prevailed on the governor-general to allow him to make a tour through the provinces, which he has been engaged on for the last three months, and during which he has been encouraging applications

and the receipt of petitions from all quarters. This, no doubt, is an extraordinary interference with the native government, and not warranted by any treaty, —indeed, is contrary to them all, and therefore can only be justified by the strongest of all reasons—*salus populi*. In the mean time Colonel Sleeman has seen so much to shock him in the present aspect of things, that he has sent in word to stop all expenditure of government, even on the most essential works over which he, as resident, has any control, such as the repair of the roads and bridges of the city, &c.; and the European officers have assured me that life and property are safe in no quarter of the kingdom; that the troops are not paid, but are battened on the districts, where they cater for themselves, and where they are bought off, through their commanding officer, by one rich zemindar after another offering a douceur of 5000*l.*, or so, to move on to a neighbouring district. Whilst Colonel Sleeman is thus employing himself, the Court are aghast at the storm which they suspect is brewing, and are, of course, in great consternation; and, in order to meet the evils which are thus being palpably exposed, are making great retrenchments in every quarter, often of the most ill-advised nature.

It will be very curious to watch what the denouement of this state of affairs will be; for, to a bystander, like myself, it is difficult to understand how British interests are affected by this internal misrule, or how, therefore, any interference on our part can be warranted. And I understand the

responsibility lies entirely with Colonel Sleeman, for the governor-general has only given a bare assent to his progress through the country.

I observe that Forster, on his visit to Lucknow, in 1783, describes the then revenue at two millions sterling, but states that they had greatly decreased since the death of the late vizier Sujah-ab-Dowlah.

Feb. 5th.—An interesting letter this morning from Colonel Sleeman, describing the country he is travelling through, and wishing me to come out to join him. He says: "A few years of tolerable government would make this the finest country in India; for there is no part of India with so many advantages from nature. I have seen no soil finer. The whole plain of which it is composed is capable of tillage. It is everywhere intersected by rivers flowing from the snowy range of the Himalaya, which keep the moisture near the surface, yet nowhere cut up the banks into ravines. It is studded with the finest groves and single trees, as much as the lover of the picturesque could desire. It has the boldest and most industrious peasantry in India, and a landed aristocracy too strong for the weak and wretched government. It is, for the most part, well cultivated; yet, with all this, one feels, in travelling over it, as if one were moving among a people suffering under incurable physical disease, from the atrocious crimes every day perpetrated with impunity, and the numbers of suffering and innocent people who approach one in the hope of redress, and are sent away in despair."

Feb. 7th.—This morning I visited the hospital, the poor-house, the thug jail, and the king's library. The different residents at this Court have, from time to time, been able to get sums of money dedicated to useful objects; and the consequence is, the existence of a number of establishments all doing good in their way, but which are, many of them, not to be found either in native capitals, or in towns under the Company's raj.

Thus, there is a poor-house, where the infirm and the needy may bask away in the sun, and be well lodged and clothed. There is a pension-fund of about R.1000 a month, which the doctor distributes to widows and other needy people; and there is a very respectable library, from which books may be had out on giving a written order for them. The king also maintains a racket-court and billiard-table for the use of the European residents.

I was agreeably disappointed with the hospital, as I did not expect much; but I found it a well-ventilated and well-conducted establishment, maintained at an expense of 45*l.* a month, with a daily average of 120 inmates, and dispensing relief to about 7000 individuals yearly. The food of the in-patients, clothing, medicine, and salaries of the assistant-surgeon and apothecary are all borne on the sum of 45*l.*; but the residency-doctor gets 60*l.* a month besides for superintending this establishment and the jail. The assistant-surgeon is a Mahometan—one of the élèves of the medical college at Calcutta—and gets a salary of 15*l.* a month, besides, as he informed

me, occasional fees of 50*l.* to 100*l.* from his private practice—a practice which Dr. Bell, the residency-surgeon — unlike his predecessors — very liberally fosters.

At the jail a number of prisoners exclaimed most vociferously at their lot, as they declared they had been seized in their villages, and had been detained eight, ten, and twelve years without trial; and Dr. Bell assures me their complaints were well-founded. They were all in irons, but appeared healthy and happy, justifying Warren Hastings's remark, that an Indian in jail, with plenty to eat and nothing to do, enjoys a very happy life.

CHAPTER XXX.

Journal through Oude to Nepal.—Indigo Planters.—The Ancient Ayodhia or Oudh.—Gorackpur.—Opium Cultivation.

FEB. 10th.—Deriabad, forty-four miles. Mrs. Erskine having been pronounced fit to travel, we left Lucknow yesterday at eleven; had a most jolting drive through the sand, in Colonel Sleeman's carriage, for seven miles, in part of which the leaders were so restive (having discovered the difference from a made road), that the postillions were forced to unharness them, and thus, by the steady wheelers and some human pushing, we managed to get through the deep ground. We then got into our palkies, and, with one or two stops on the road, under trees, for something to eat for poor M., we got over the journey wonderfully well, though we did not get in till one in the morning.

11th.—Faizabad, forty miles. Arrived here this morning at 5 A.M., having left Deriabad at 4 P.M. As this place has got some lions, being the former capital of Oude, having the tombs of Sujah-a-Dowlah and his Begum, and having, within four miles, the remains of the old Hindu capital of Ayodhia, over which Rám was king; and as we have an elephant and a buggy at our disposal here, sent to us by the king, I have determined to make a halt for one day.

Taking a ride this morning on our elephant, to see the town, I fell in with a young English officer, in the service of the King of Oude. He is stationed here on thug duty, with three hundred foot and fifty horse; and he says that his time is fully employed, and that he has had lots of fighting, having lost about ten men at different times during the five years he has been employed. He gives the same account as others of the extreme turbulence of the country, and of the great quantity of murders prevalent; and he says, the place we were at yesterday—Deriabad—is one of the most lawless in the king's dominions. The Zemindars, it seems, settle all disputes among one another by arms, having, in fact, no other tribunal to refer to. The consequence is, that the commonest Zemindar keeps a hundred matchlocks in pay, and some of the Talukdars five and six hundred. A great many of the cultivators about here (he says about one-half) are Rajputs, and they are to be seen at plough girt with sword and shield, which they never quit, and which, indeed, are said to be *sine quibus non*. The men in his service were extremely fine-looking fellows, and they are regularly paid, though they only get ten shillings a month; but they prefer this smaller pay, naturally enough, in their own country, where they have not so far to go to their homes when on furlough, to the seventeen shillings of the Company's service. The horsemen get two pounds, but he says there is usually a clipping of one rupee to a rupee and a half. The district about here is a great recruiting one for the Company; and my young

friend thinks, shrewdly enough, that if an officer were sent on the service, instead of a serjeant or havildar, who selects his own friends and kin only, we should succeed in procuring much finer men.

It is worth travelling in India to appreciate the comforts of a palanquin. As often remarked, it is a *house*, but a house as it were upon wheels. Its internal arrangements are certainly far more come-at-able than those of a carriage, and, for a long journey, there is infinitely less fatigue in it. One carries with one a larder, a cellar, a bed and clothes. In one drawer I have all my writing materials; in another, my sponges, brushes, &c.; in a third, my knives and forks; while books and newspapers make a library of the whole interior.

Feb. 12th.—Paid a visit to the ancient Awud, or Ayodhia, this morning. It is about four miles from Faizabad, on the banks of the Gogra, which is here a finer river than the Jamna at Agra, or the Gange sat Cawnpur. As the birthplace of Ráma, and his capital moreover, it is a favourite spot of pilgrimage with the Hindus from all parts of India; and ghats are built along the banks of the river, and bathings take place there, as at Bindrábund, Muttra, and Benares. One day in every week is a great bathing day; besides which there are two festivals in the year, when there are vast congregations of the faithful. The city must have been exceedingly large: even now the space covered with buildings is larger, I think, than modern Lucknow; and, like Rome and some of the old cities of Italy, it stands on an

eminence, looking like a hill at a distance, but composed entirely of *débris* and materials of old buildings. At some time or other, the Mussalmans appear to have settled in it largely; and several musjids appear, one of which has been built over the birthplace of Ráma; but they, in their turn, have given way, and Hinduism—the natural growth of India, like its pipal trees and milk-bushes—is flourishing vigorously among the ruins of the city. Rájah Mán-Sing, the great zemindar, whose elephant and buggy we have been using, was stopping at this place for his ablutions, and he waited on me—a young Brahman of thirty, emaciated and sickly, evidently an opium-eater. His father was one of the great chackledars, or revenue collectors, of the kingdom, and by his grasping and extortions succeeded in purchasing up about fifty zemindarries. The consequence is, that this young man gets about 500,000*l.* a year of revenue for himself, besides rendering 20,000*l.* to the Government. He lives in a strong fort about fourteen miles off, and maintains, they say, 5000 matchlock-men; but, with all his revenue, is said to be deeply in debt. His father built here a handsome temple to Mahadeo, the stone of which was brought all the way from Mirzapur, as also a ghat on the river side, which now forms the favourite spot for the bathers.

14th.—Gorackpur, eighty miles. Arrived here this morning, having spent yesterday with a Mr. Cooke, at Bastu, which is half-way. Mr. Cooke is what is called a grantee, having received a grant of

land from Government, on a term of fifty years, at a low rent, on the condition of clearing it and bringing it into cultivation. This experiment has been tried several times, but does not appear generally to have succeeded; the grantees having usually sunk a good deal of money, having often engaged in unsuccessful speculations of indigo and opium, and the result being that Government has resumed the land. Mr. Cooke is one of the three successful undertakers. He has a grant of 13,000 acres, for which he now pays a rent of 2500 rupees (250*l.*) to Government, which will be raised gradually to 5000 rupees, at which it is to be fixed during his term. He expects to realise three rupees per acre from the cultivator, which will leave him about 3000*l.* for his income. He found the country all jungle, and had great difficulty in tempting settlers to the spot; commencing first by bribing loose characters and *mauvais sujets*, and gradually weeding them out.

16th.—This station bears evident symptoms of its propinquity to the Terai, or woody belt at the foot of the Himalaya; for it is only within a few years that wild elephants used to walk into the cantonments; and at the present moment a very savage one has taken possession of a village fourteen miles off, from which he has driven all the inhabitants, having already killed about ten to fifteen of them. The young sportsmen here are longing to be after him; but not being used to the sport, have been very inquisitive with me as to the vulnerable spots of the animal, which my experience in Ceylon had taught me.

20th.—Sugowly. We left Gorackpur at 4 P.M. on the 17th, and reached Padrowna, only forty miles off, at 10 A.M. next day. We then breakfasted at the house of another grantee; but evidently not a successful one, like our friend Mr. Cooke at Bastu. Mr. Finch had a grant of 22,000 acres, and appears to have tried the cultivation and manufacture of sugar on a large scale; but, like the great majority of the grantees, the world has clearly not wagged well with him; and the large house he has built bears in its dismantled, unfurnished state, the complete appearance of a Castle Rack-rent. From Padrowna to this place sixty miles, which we reached yesterday at 10 A.M., twenty-two hours' dâk.

At this place we are living with a Captain Verner, a gentlemanlike Irishman, who commands a regiment of irregular cavalry.

We are now in the country of opium cultivation, and the fields are beautiful with the white poppy in full blow. The district of the indigo-planters also commences here; and by the custom prevalent amongst them, one may proceed in a buggy the whole way from here to Dinapore or Patna, picking up relays of horses at each of their houses as one goes by, whether one knows them or not, and even whether the master of the house is at home or not. The sun of the poor indigo-planters, however, seems to have set, for they are all said to be insolvent, or nearly so; and their princely houses, some of them as large as Government House at Calcutta, I apprehend no longer witness the hospitality *en prince* which used formerly to distinguish them.

The country we have come through is exceedingly well-cultivated, although so lately a jungle; and from its moist climate, and propinquity to the Nepal hills, the climate is as moist as Bengal. The face of the country is not at all unlike Gujarát, and I never saw any part of India so distinguished by large mango-groves as this; they extend, many of them, for miles, one for instance near Gorackpur, and the name of the planter is carefully handed down, for, though dedicated to the public, his family consider the property to be exclusively vested in themselves;—a claim apparently which is fully recognised by the community.* We start to-night for the foot of the hills.

* It is difficult for those who have not travelled in the tropics to appreciate the value of an Indian mango or tamarind grove. Independent of their precious fruit, these beautiful forest trees afford a shelter and a shade such as no art could supply, and they usually also harbour a well or a tank.

CHAPTER XXXI.

Ascent to the Valley of Nepal.—Valley of Katmandu.—Revenues of Nepal.—Account of Terai.

FEB. 26th.—Katmandu. We arrived here yesterday, and the difficulty of getting up was quite sufficient to prevent my making any note during the march. Our progress was thus: we left Sugowly at 7 P.M. on the 20th, reached Bissowly, thirty-two miles, about half-past nine next day, and then ran on dâk, twelve miles more, through the dreaded Terai to the station Beach-a-Koh, at the foot of the hills where Erskine was to meet us. On arriving there at half-past 2 P.M., we found a note from him, stating that the rain above had been so heavy that he could not send the tents down, and that we were to push on to him at the next station. We therefore had to quit our palanquins, and start immediately on our march up the hills,—Mrs. E. in a janpan, or chair on upright poles, the ayah in a dandy or hammock, and I on a mule. Here the difficulties of our journey began, for the road was rough, very hot part of the way in the bed of a torrent, and half-way it began to rain violently, so when we reached Hetura at half-past 7 P.M., where E. was awaiting us, we all agreed that we had never had twenty-four hours' rougher travelling, though poor M. bore it wonderfully. We got our

dinner about eight, in a substantial rest-house or Darramsala with an upper story; but as the lower story, an inner quadrangle, was completely filled with faquirs, who had been attending some festival in Nepal, the smoke from their fires at supper, and their singing during the night afterwards, made the place almost uninhabitable, and quite unsleepable.

Next morning, the 22nd, Mrs. E. fairly broke down, and seemed unable to continue the journey; but, as it was absolutely necessary either to get on or go back, we got under weigh again at twelve, and after two or three stoppages on the road, up another mountain-torrent, with most dense jungle on each side, and the influence of the Aul or malaria very perceptible on us all, for each suffered from its effects, we reached our station, Nya Paty or Bhim Pheed, at seven. Here we were to have dined and slept in the rest-house, but we found it like the last, so filled with faquirs, and the smoke so intolerable, that we willingly took refuge in our tents, although it was raining and very damp.

23rd.—We started at half-past eight, and our upward march, though steep, was through a less jungly and malarious country, so we got to our ground by two, passing over the Sissia Garaghat. On the 24th we made a village almost in the valley of Nepal, and the next morning came in the last eight miles, the principal part of the way on an elephant, and ensconced ourselves in the residency, a substantial English-built house in a small park. I should

have liked the excursion very much from its novelty, from its grand scenery, from the splendid views of Himalaya, which we obtained at the summit of each day's march (and as the summits in this part of the range reach greater heights than any mountains in the world, the grandeur of the prospect is easily conceivable); but, whether from the depressing influence of this climate, or the poison of these dense jungles, or still more the witnessing poor M.'s hardships and sufferings in making this journey during her present state of health, and with the prospect to her of being shut up in the Nepal valley, with no possibility of getting away — even if life and death were the stake for the next nine months—or all these combined, I never made a five days' journey under such a depression of spirits; and it was the more remarkable from the marked change to the very happy prosperous journey we had had from Lucknow, and which lasted up to the very moment of our entering the jungles.

The Nepal valley is the valley of Udipur on a larger scale, except that it is much higher, being more than 5000 feet above the sea, and that the soil here is evidently much better. From the quantity of rain that falls, rice appears to be the principal product, although there is an abundance of wheat now above the surface. One appears to be completely out of India here, as in fact is the case; for although there are Hindus and Brahmans in the villages, and although the Khás or dominant race of the court are mongrel Hindus, *i. e.*, Hindus by the father's side and aborigines by the

mother's, still the bulk of the population is wholly of a different type,—whether Malay, Chinese, or Tartar, I can't well say. The principal inhabitants of the valley of Nepal are Nawars, and although they have, I believe, adopted the Hindu theology, still their temples are similar in form to the Josh-houses of the Chinese or Burmans, and indeed there are two celebrated Budhist temples in the valley, which are principally supported by the Thibetan subjects of the Rajah, a portion of his raj extending into Thibet.

By a paper of Mr. Hodgson's, I see that he estimated the revenues of the country for 1837, at R.43,43,373 (£434,337), and the expenses at R.37,77,000 (£377,700), the balance being paid into the treasury. I subjoin the items of expenditure;—

		Rupees.
Katmandu	Salaries of civil servants	1,50,000
	Military (10 battalions)*	9,00,000
†	Military at Palpa	2,00,000
	Do. West of Palpa to Kumam	3,00,000
	Do. East of Katmandu to Sikim	3,00,000
Tosha Khana, including daily and weekly doles, and presents to natives and foreigners for food; presents for marriages; the thread ceremony; and parting gifts to envoys, &c.; embassies		11,00,000
Menials of the Palace		45,000
Carried forward		27,95,000

* 62,000 rupees per annum is deemed the cost of a battalion of 600 strong.

† These items include the civil or administrative charges, but are classed as military because the chief functionary is a soldier, and all things subordinated to military objects and aims.

	Rupees.
Brought forward	27,95,000
Police and government-office charges at Kumarí Chok, the four Adálats, the Consi and Dufter Kanch .	1,00,000
Fees and perquisites of office-bearers	1,00,000
Administration of Terai	82,000
Assignments and alienations of land	5,00,000
Total .	37,77,000

The following items appear in the enumeration of the revenue :—

	Rupees.
Magazine mines*	13,331
Western Copper Mines	44,003
Rugam Mines	12,000
Nagari Mines	58,028
Bhansar of Bhol on account of Mint† . .	10,000
Taxes on Justice, and fines in four Adálats of the capital	60,000
Bounty paid by troops at Katmandu‡ on entertainment or renewal of yearly service.	50,000
Sale of elephants in Terai	8,000

Mr. Hodgson, writing in 1837, adds the following note on the revenue :—

"As usual elsewhere the chief source of revenue is a land-tax, which, where land is private property (as Nepal proper), is $\frac{1}{10}$ of gross, or $\frac{1}{8}$ of net produce, but when land is not private property (the common case) is $\frac{1}{4}$ of gross produce.

* Surplus from lands and mines assigned to arsenals.

† Mint profits on compulsory sale of all silver brought from Thibet, and an adulterate coinage therefrom.

‡ The regular troops, about 17,000 in number, are enrolled anew every year, and as the average pay is very good (estimated at six rupees), there is a great struggle to keep on the roll, and hence the bounty paid at the Panjani or annual enrolment.

Mr. Hodgson is of opinion (and he was resident here for twenty-five years) that the Gorkha rule is, on the whole, very mild and beneficial; and he contrasts the cheerful and independent bearing and *countenances* of the cultivators with those of the inhabitants of the plains between Patna and Calcutta, very much to the disadvantage of the latter and of *our* government.

Dr. Campbell, who was attached to this residency, made a trip through the Terai, in 1839, of 250 miles, from Bissowly eastward to the Mechi, and I give an abstract of his remarks.

The Nepal Terai is, in its extreme breadth, thirty miles, and, on an average, twenty-two miles broad. The country immediately under the hills is quite flat, swampy all the year, and the soil is stiff, tenacious clay. Everywhere the country is a swamp, and the water bad. The most unhealthy-looking men he ever saw were the Gorkha officers and civil and military functionaries of the rajah in those parts. Cultivation, however, appeared to be extending itself, and elephants are fast disappearing to the west of the Kusi, and the morang is not able to supply the usual number (500) demanded by the durbar annually, and they are obtained by the Subahdars, from the Butan Duars, on the Rungpore and Assam frontiers. (Dr. C. must have been misinformed as to the number, for it appears above that R.8000 is the total value of the elephants thus obtained, and each elephant probably averages R.300.) Travelling, as he did, with a native employé of the rajah, the

inhabitants of the Terai flocked to him in great numbers believing that a survey was in preparation, as the groundwork of a new assessment; and as his route lay generally five miles equidistant from the British frontier and the Nepal forest, the inhabitants from the former also crowded around, each party retailing their grievances with open mouth. Dr. C.'s remarks on what he elicited from them on these occasions are curious. "Feeling assured (those under the Company) that I was in no way connected with the British Government, I had often, in reply to my questions, the full benefit of their opinions on our officers and our rule. I could not see that, in the details of police and revenue arrangements, we had anything at all to boast of over the Gorkhas; on the contrary, I believed that their police was more efficient and less extortionate than ours. All parties, however, agreed that accumulated wealth was safe, and a source of honour in our provinces, while in Nepal it was always liable to be rapaciously dealt with by extra-judicial power, and consequently was a source of uneasiness and dread to the holders. Many of the middle and all the upper class of people in the Terai, except the khás officers, have property in our provinces, and at least a moiety of their savings in money is carried across the border to our territory, in which their families generally reside."

The disposition which Dr. C. here notices, to conceal true opinions when the native ryot is interrogated by an officer of our government, seems universal throughout India; and a letter I received from

Náráyan, the interpreter of the Supreme Court, a day or two ago, mentions that, on a recent trip he made through the Poona collectorate, whilst making inquiries amongst the cultivators as to the causes of their poverty, &c., the man he asked "immediately suspected there was something wrong," and commenced telling me that the Company sircár was their ma bap (father and mother); that there was no zoolum under the present government; that there was greater security of property now than there was under any native government; that the Sahib Log (the English) were very impartial in the administration of justice, and encouraged trade by constructing roads and bridges—and so on. In order to divest him of fear, under whose influence he evidently was at the time, I assured him that I was not a servant of the Company, &c. &c. When I gave him several such encouragements, he proceeded to answer my question."

CHAPTER XXXII.

Massacre of Nobles in Nepal.—Jung Bahadur.

I HAVE been reading this morning a variety of manuscript accounts of the great massacre of Nepalese noblemen (about thirty), which took place here in September, 1846, and by which, eventually, a revolution in the government was effected. It is difficult, without local information, or the presence of any European to explain matters (and the only two Europeans here, Mr. Erskine and his assistant, are as much strangers to the country and as uninformed as myself), to obtain a clear view of what occurred, but the following appears to be a correct sketch as far as it goes.

The late Maha Rajah appears to have been half-imbecile—certainly very weak; and he made over the whole powers of government to his Maha Rani, or chief wife, and her authority was fully recognised by the state. She appears to have been a woman of dissolute habits, and as usual, having children of her own, was desirous to secure the succession for them, in supersession of the heir-apparent and his brother, the children of an elder and deceased rani, and who, by-the-by, was as ambitious and as troublesome in her day as the present queen. The party who

opposed these plans of hers in the durbar she of course looked upon as her enemies; and it would seem that the commander-in-chief, General Guggun Singh was her prime favourite, and probably her paramour. I have not seen any account of the intrigues which the motives here indicated gave rise to, but they may easily be divined; and, in pursuance of them, it appears that, on the 14th of September, 1846, the commander-in-chief was assassinated about ten at night, whilst at his devotions in his own house. Intelligence of this murder was immediately conveyed to the Maha Rani, who was at the Hanaimun Doka Palace, and who at once proceeded to the spot, on foot, accompanied by her four female slaves, carrying with her gungajal (water of the Ganges), tulsi leaves, and gold. On viewing her lover's corpse, her agony is said to have been at first intense, but rallying from her grief, she placed the tulsi leaves and gold in the mouth of the deceased, and, forbidding his three widows to perform suttee, she condoled with the family, and ordered the funeral obsequies to be performed at the charge of the state. She then took the drawn sword from the hands of her kotha mucha (female sword-bearer), and with her hair dishevelled, and weeping aloud, proceeded to the kot (hall of public business), and there ordered the bugle to sound for an immediate convocation of all the great civil and military functionaries of the state. She then seated herself on a chair of state, and declared that she would neither eat nor drink till the murderer of the general had been dis-

covered. General Jung Bahadur and his brothers, with three regiments, were among the first to arrive at the kot, where he had an interview with the Maha Rani, and urged her to the utmost activity to preserve the lives of herself, her sons, and adherents (meaning himself and party), who would probably fall like their common friend, Guggun Singh. This was about midnight. The Maha Rajah, about the same time, was brought to the kot by General Ubbima Singh; and nearly all the sirdars and chief functionaries were also assembled, with the exception of the family of the choutreas.* The rani then ordered Ubbima Singh to put one of the sirdars, Bir Kishor Pandi, in irons; which being done, she accused him of the assassination; of which, however, he denied any knowledge. Whereupon, she gave her own naked sword to General Ubbima, and ordered him to put the pandi to death. The general, however, withdrew into another apartment, where the Maha Rajah was sitting with several public officers, and acquainted him with the orders which he had received, and requested to know what was to be done. The Maha Rajah replied, angrily, that, without inquiry and proof, it would be unjust to put to death such an old, able, and high-born servant of the state. Whereupon, Ubbima Singh, returning to the rani, reported this reply, and laying down the sword at her feet, refused to carry out her orders.

She then sent for Jung Bahadur, and ordered

* These are kinsmen of the Rajah, and the head of the family was the premier.

him to collect all the nobles in the great hall, and vowed that not one should depart till the murderer had been discovered; and she again demanded that the choutreas, who appear to have been the heads of the anti-Rani party, should be sent for. In the mean time the Maha Rajah, thinking also that the presence of Futteh Yung Choutrea, who was his friend, was necessary, mounted his pony and went in search of him, at 2 A.M., and at the same time sent a special messenger to the resident, Colonel Ottley, to inform him of what had passed, and to beg an immediate interview. Colonel Ottley, however, refused to give the interview at that hour of the night. The King being thus unable to obtain the assistance of the resident, proceeded to his own residence at the Hanaimum Palace. In the mean time the choutreas had arrived at the kot; and the Maha Rani and Jung Bahadur persisted in their views to put Bikshor Pandi to instant death, the Rani herself attempting to stab him with her sword, whilst Futteh Choutrea, Ubbima Jung, and others, urged previous inquiry. During this parley, the military partisans on either side loaded their arms, shots were fired by Jung Bahadur's party, and Futteh Choutrea, Kaji Pandi, and Ubbima Sing, were killed. Jung Bahadur's regiment then continued their fire into the small room where the sirdars were assembled, the Maha Rani urging them on to kill and destroy all her enemies; and at the same moment she invested Jung Bahadur with the wizârat, or command, of the sixteen regiments at the capital. Most of the sirdar

chiefs at the kot were thus shot or cut down, though some are said to have been protected and saved by Jung Bahadur's brothers.

The next day, on the Maha Rajah being informed of the previous night's massacre, he mounted his horse and declared his intention of at once proceeding to Benares; whilst the Maha Rani ordered Jung Bahadur to confiscate the estates of all the chiefs murdered on the previous evening, and to put the heir-apparent and his brother in confinement. Up to this time, Jung Bahadur appears to have been a willing instrument in the hands of the rani; and the Maha Rajah admits, in one of his public letters, that she gave Jung orders for the execution of those officers. Colonel Thoresby, the late resident, also observes, that as the Rajah had entrusted the full authority of the state to her hands, his sanction was unnecessary to any order, and the individual who sought for it on any occasion would only be imperilling his own head. Jung Bahadur, however, did not choose to carry out the views of the rani for the supersession of the heir-apparent; and, although he kept him in confinement, he made various excuses for not complying with the rani's orders to put him and his brother to death. The rani thereupon looked out for another instrument for her ambition, and gave a grant of the wizárat to Bhir Bashnit, on condition that he should make away with Jung Bahadur and the heir-apparent. Bashnit, in consequence, marched his own regiment to the kot, and Jung Bahadur was sent for by the Maha Rani; but

Jung, having got wind of the intrigue, armed his relatives and retainers with double-barrelled guns, and proceeded on foot towards the durbar. On his road he met Bhir Bashnit, and acquainting him with his discovery of the intrigue, made a signal to one of his men, who shot Bashnit dead on the spot. Jung Bahadur then proceeded to the palace of the Maha Rajah, whom he found with the heir-apparent, and recounted what had taken place. He then demanded full powers from the rajah to destroy all the enemies of the heir-apparent. The rajah at once gave the powers required, under his private seal; whereupon Jung Bahadur collected all the troops by bugle, acquainted them with what had passed; upon which all who had taken part in this latter plot of Bhir were sought for, and some fourteen or fifteen bashnits, and four or five petty military officers, were put to death.

Jung Bahadur having thus got into the ascendant lost no time in expelling the Maha Rani from the kingdom, and she took her departure for Benares; but before she went she succeeded in persuading the irresolute rajah to accompany her, and they set out on their journey together.

The rajah, however, shortly after his arrival at Benares, returned to the foot of the hills to Segowly, and there the relatives of the murdered party, and the survivors of the faction, choutreas, &c., began all the usual intrigues of *Fuorusciti* to restore themselves, and to destroy Jung Bahadur. After attempts on the life of the latter, which his vigilance frustrated,

and many endeavours to sow jealousy between Jung Bahadur and the heir-apparent (now Regent), which also failed, as the Maha Rajah resisted all the prayers of the chiefs to return to his dominions, the principal civil and military functionaries met together to deliberate, and as if they had a volume of the History of England open before them, they solemnly declared that the Maha Rajah had *abdicated* his throne, and they thereupon resolved to invest the heir-apparent with the insignia of authority. Accordingly, on the same day he received the *tika* on his forehead and presents from the chiefs. It was resolved at the same time to make the late Maha Rajah a suitable allowance, and he was to live at his own choice, either in Nepal or in the Company's dominions.

The country, since the the above period, appears to have been governed tranquilly by Jung Bahadur, as prime minister. The late Maha Rajah is living in Katmandu as a private individual, and the rani is living at Benares, having been deprived of some four or five laks in her possession by the British government at the instance of Nepal Raj.

Jung Bahadur, with a large suite, is now on his way to England on a mission to the queen (suggested no doubt by himself), leaving the reins of government in the hands of one of his brothers, and taking with him twelve laks (120,000*l.*) to defray the expenses of a year's amusement.*

* Jung Bahadur, by the most recent accounts, is now (1855) heading an expedition against the Chinese, who invaded Nepal towards the close of the last century, and signally defeated the Gorkhas.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Suttee in Nepal.—Sequel of the Nepal Revolution.—Appearance of the Gorkhas.—Visit to Jung Bahadur.

It will be seen by the allusion to suttee in the above narrative, that the practice occurs in this valley, and no longer ago than yesterday, while Captain Nicholetts, the assistant, was out shooting, he saw one going on. Not being interested in the matter, or fearful, perhaps, of appearing to countenance such a rite, he passed on without taking notice of it, or learning any particulars.

I observed that Colonel Thoresby expresses himself quite decidedly that the murdered General Guggun Singh (who had formerly been a chobdar in the palace) was the paramour of the rani, and he attributes the assassination to the Maha Rajah himself. It may be worth while to record the sequel of the ex-Rajah's proceedings, which actually brought him back a prisoner to Katmandu. He remained down at the foot of the hills, as I stated before, at Segowly, and at that place all the *Fuorusciti* gathered round him, when the attempts by emissaries, against the minister's life, were made as I before described. The resident here and the native chiefs, urged on the Maha Rajah repeatedly to come back to his king-

dom, but in vain; and it was only on the discovery of a plot to take away the life of Jung Bahadur, that the resolution was adopted to depose him. Shortly after this, in July, 1847, and whilst the Terai was completely impassable, the ex-Rajah invaded the territory with about 1600 men; on hearing of which Jung Bahadur despatched a regiment to the foot of the hills, who made a night attack on the ex-King's party near Bissowly, and succeeded in capturing him, and killed several of the leaders of his party; the two principal instigators of the movement, a Guru and a Brahman, shamefully deserting the ex-Rajah, and securing their safety by flight at the first moment of danger. The king was brought back to Nepal, and has been kept in honourable confinement ever since.

March 2nd.—Yesterday I attended the durbar of the Maha Rajah. A Sirdar, a very respectable man in appearance, came for us at 2 P.M., in one of the king's carriages, the first I had seen in the valley, (for there are no roads available for driving, except of most limited extent,) and we drove to the palace in Katmandu. I looked anxiously for the kot where the massacre of 1846 had taken place, but could not see it, from the mass of buildings and strange-looking temples which interposed between the durbar and the palace. We found the Maha Rajah superbly dressed, sitting on a high *gadi*, with his legs hanging down, and attended by his brother, uncle, and the three brothers of Jung Bahadur, now at Calcutta, and from thirty to forty Sirdars, all very well dressed, but with a mixture of English or European uniform with their

native dress, which is neither one thing nor the other, and the effect of which I do not approve. Some rather good-looking nach girls, native beauties, with a touch of the Mongol in their faces, were in attendance, and the whole was interesting from the opportunity it gave one of seeing the physiognomies of the leading people of the court, who would be the men to lead their armies if we had again to encounter them. They were a manly-looking, independent set of men, some of them undistinguishable in appearance from Hindus, and none of them marked by Tartar or Mongolian traits. As a whole, however, they have a characteristic physiognomy of their own, and such, I apprehend, as marks a mixed race. I should make the same remark of the sepoys of the two or three regiments I saw assembled: one of them was composed entirely of one cast—a lowish cast, the Munshi informed me, of parbuttees (as all the Gorkhas are called in contradistinction to the nawars who inhabit the valley of Nepal), inhabitants of the hills between here and Gorkha; and, on the whole, I should say that in physique Hinduism is much the most predominant element. I observe these points so particularly, because many people assert that the Gorkhas are not Hindus at all.

We were afterwards conducted to the arsenal, where we saw about 150 brass guns, mostly small,—four, six, and eight pounders, and (it was said) from 70,000 to 80,000 stand of muskets, and they showed us the ball-practice of their artillery, which was indifferent enough.

March 3rd.—Yesterday we paid a visit to the house of the absent minister, Jung Bahadur, escorted there by his brothers. It appears to be much the largest house in the valley, and is surrounded with a garden containing several kinds of deer in it, and amongst others the musk-deer, which is a native of the adjoining hills in Thibet. A nach as usual, a very good tiffin served up à l'Anglaise, that is, on plates, —a fight between an elephant and a leopard, or rather a massacre of the latter, completed our visit.

On reading further through the records I find that I was quite right in supposing that Jung Bahadur and Guggun Singh had belonged to the rani's party up to the time of the massacre; they were two of the five composing the ministry, were looked upon with great hostility by the heir-apparent and his party, and sometimes with confidence, more often with jealousy and dread by the rajah. The murder of Guggun Singh was claimed by the present rajah as his own work, with the authority or connivance of his father—the ex-Rajah; and on two occasions the subject was alluded to at durbar to our resident by the present rajah. Jung Bahadur, who had been the fast friend of the rani up to the time of the massacre, and who probably carried out her orders very willingly, to make away with his political opponents, then turned the cards very adroitly upon her, and either by saving the life of the heir-apparent, or by appearing to do so, made a friend of him and secured the sole power in his own hands.

March 4th.—Yesterday they gave us a review of their troops, thirteen regiments of from five to six hundred men each. They are all dressed in European fashion; the officers in cocked hats, with enormous ostrich plumes, which they keep with great difficulty on their heads; and the men in scarlet coats and cloth trousers. The parade ground is very small, and did not admit of any manœuvres being attempted, even if such had been the order of the day; but they marched very fairly, and fired beautifully, better, Erskine thought, than any of our sepoy regiments. There seems an immense Anglo-mania amongst these people; for independent of the English uniform, which the commander-in-chief and all his brothers wore, the Maha Rajah's brother joined us, cantering on to the ground on his little China pony, and dressed altogether in English mufti; a shooting coat, waistcoat with a fox on the button, black satin stock, and glazed shoes. The Maha Rajah, as a cypher, was probably not allowed to be present; and the young prince, his brother, the Myla Sahib, as he is called, certainly could not have had less attention paid him than he had.

March 6th.—This valley gives one a variety of objects to visit and see, and I go out every afternoon on an elephant to some lion or other. Yesterday we started at 3 P.M., in a delightful climate, and went to Pátan, about four miles off. This was the capital of one of the three rajahs by whom the valley was held at the period of its conquest by the Gorkhas in 1768, and is one of the most remarkable towns I

have seen in the East. The nawars are its principal inhabitants; and the profusion of temples which adorn it, and the very fine wood-carving, which decorates all its windows and doorways, make it extremely picturesque. In what would be called the Place in a continental town, I counted no fewer than nine, if not ten, temples, all grouped together; the greater part of them of Budhist form, of three stories, with the projecting umbrella-like form of each story, and a gilt bell on the pinnacle. The German party, with Prince Waldemar of Prussia, who visited this place in 1845, well remark, that the Nepalese have borrowed all their arts from China, and not from Hindostan; and the longer I remain in the valley, the more I feel out of India. Yet the greater part of the population here are Brahminical in religion, and appear far more rigid in their ceremonial observances, than the inhabitants of Hindostan. I observe in the records of the residency, the extraordinary jealousy with which the Nepal government watch over any intercourse between the English and the natives. It has been said that whenever the resident pays a visit to the durbar, the room is immediately whitewashed and *purified* after the departure of the latter; but I doubt the truth of the story. It is certain, however, that in no part of India has there been such a signal want of courtesy and attention paid to the British as at this court. Above all, they seem most vigilant in prohibiting all connection between their females and a Mletcha, or, indeed, with any one not of their own race, and the penalty even when a *Kasbin* visits

the latter, by Gorkha law, is death. It becomes somewhat difficult at times to enforce the observance of this law on the native soldiers of the resident's escort, Hindostanis, and sometimes men of low cast, but who, with high pay and nothing whatever to do here, frequently become rampant.

The longer I remain in this valley, the more I am pleased with it. The climate is damp, no doubt, and the mornings till 8 A.M. foggy and disagreeable, but after that hour it is delightful out of doors; and the views in the valley, with villages sparkling in every direction, in numbers surpassing anything I have ever seen in my life, having the richest cultivation all round them, and an amphitheatre of lofty hills, filling the horizon, clothed some of them to the summits with forest, others sharp and bare, and occasionally glimpses of the Snowy Mountains, with Gosain Thal (24,000 feet), and I think Kinchin Junga (28,000) in the far distance, penetrating the sky with their brilliant peaks, make the different prospects really enchanting.

March 7th.—Yesterday to Puspatnáth, the most holy of the sixty-four temples in the valley. There is a large town connected with it, and a hanging-wood belonging to the temple clothes the hill at its back, giving a very pleasing effect; for wood is scarce in this fertile valley, and it is only in connection with temples that one sees any trees. We saw quantities of goitre, dilapidation in the town as elsewhere, innumerable dirty children, and also innumerable bits of exquisite wood-carving on the two-

storied brick houses, and I longed for a daguerreotype to bring away a record of them.

The valley just now seems full of Bhoteans or Thibetans, who come down in the winter months, but who are unable to live here when the warm weather begins, the *aul* or pestilential fever being very fatal to them in this locality. This *aul* is the great characteristic of the country, from the 15th of March to the 1st of December: it makes the road down to the plains (about sixty miles) nearly impassable, and it is dreaded apparently as much by natives as by Europeans; for the penalty of making the journey is said to be death. Yet, on looking through the records, I see numerous instances of Europeans going through the Terai during this period. The first resident, for instance, Mr. Gardner, marched up in July; Mr. Colvin, also resident, went down in September; Captain Smith went down in the same month; Dr. Login, the doctor, also went down early in November last year, but he died at Dinapoor, and his death was attributed by all to the aul, though cholera was the form under which it showed itself. I have fixed my departure for the 11th, and that appears to be as late as any prudential views would allow of, but somehow or other I have not the least fear of attack, or concern about results if any attack should occur.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

View of Dwala-giri and the Snowy Range.—Budhist Temple.

MARCH 7th.—Yesterday, Erskine and I made an excursion out of the valley, and went to a hill called *Kaulia*, about twelve miles distant, on the great or rather main road to Thibet and China. We went for the purpose of getting a good view of the monarch of mountains, *Dwala-giri*, who springs up five miles perpendicular into the air. We were quite compensated for the ruggedness of our mountain-path, and had a glimpse or two of by far the most magnificent mountain scene I ever beheld, and I thought when we got to the top of our hill, we should have had the whole snowy range in one panorama before us. Unfortunately it became somewhat cloudy, and we only got an ocean of hills (the lower range at our feet), and in the background, Gosain Thal and Dwala-giri lifting their heads far above the clouds. If we had slept on the extreme summit instead of coming down the hill three or four miles to a bungalow of the resident about seven miles from Katmandu, we should have had as magnificent a view as that described by Dr. Hofmeister; for at sunrise there was not a cloud, and from where we were we saw one of the pinnacles of Dwala-giri, as sharp and well-

defined and brilliant as if it had been within five miles of us.

The whole of this mountain-path, both going and coming, was crowded with Bhoteas, as the inhabitants of Thibet call themselves, who flock in great numbers to the Nepal valley during the cold months, bringing blankets made of shawl wool, and other products of their country, and hurrying back before the hot weather begins, which gives them fever. There also we discovered several Bhotea villages situated amongst these hills, quite close to Katmandu, as well as Khás, Nawar, Brahman, and aboriginal races, forming a most complete *mélange* of population. On the whole I was very much gratified by the trip, by the sublime views, and by the inkling it gave me of the Nepalese mode of intercommunication with their different provinces in the hills. It is along this route that the quinquennial embassy of the Nepalese to Pekin is sent; a journey which takes, to and fro, a period of fourteen months.

March 12th.—Went yesterday to the Temple of Soubináth, a picturesque Budhist temple on a hill about a mile from the city, and evidently dating from a period when a Thibetan race governed the valley. General Fitzpatrick mentions that at the period of his visit (1792), it was, or, at all events, very recently had been, under the charge of the Dalai Lama, who at considerable cost had just regilded the very curiously constructed pyramidal spire. I know not at whose cost the present efficient

repairs of the building are made, but it appears to be a shrine of considerable sanctity with the Budhists, and we heard of some yesterday, who had come a distance of three months' journey to visit it. The Brahmans, as usual, have been astute to incorporate this object of worship with their own religion; for they have not only built a couple of temples, of the usual pyramidal Máhadeo form, as portals to the great Budhist dagob-shaped shrine, but on the back part of the building they have placed a brass figure of Bagwhán, as a pendant to the brass Budh in a niche on the front of the building; and I perceived a number of Nawars, principally women, making *Puja* round the temple.

March 14th.— Started this morning at half-past 4 A.M. for the top of *Shipuri*, which General Fitzpatrick calculates to be about 4200 feet above the level of the valley. We rode about five miles to the foot of the hills, and gained the summit in a little more than four hours. Then, indeed, we were rewarded for our labours, and the view of the snowy range, with Dwala-giri to the N.W., and an unbroken line of at least 120 degrees of mountains to the eastward, and south of east, including Kinchin Junga, made the most magnificent *coup-d'œil* I ever witnessed, and more than I could have conceived. We were most fortunate in our day; for not a cloud had as yet gathered on the snowy summits, and we had their whole forms in our eye from the base, at a horizontal distance of perhaps not more than twenty-five miles (they appeared to be not more than ten),

and with the Kachar, or lower range of Lower Thibet in the foreground, with beautiful woody ravines under our feet, extending down the smiling valleys of the *Tadi* and the *Tirsal Ganga*. We found snow in all the crevices and sheltered places of Shipuri, and a sharp frost covering the ground in some parts with half an inch of rime. The snow afforded us, by-the-by, a delicious ice after the somewhat severe tug up the mountain, which was clothed to the top with Bansh oak, and rhododendron, and scarcely indeed with anything else. What rendered the view more striking was, that on proceeding along the narrow spine of the mountain for a mile or two, whilst we had the vast snowy range and the wilderness of the Kuchar to the northward and eastward, on turning round we had the valley of Nepal beneath us, covered with tropical and semi-tropical vegetation—wheat, rice, plantains, and bamboos. But I must not attempt to describe further the impressions which this wonderful landscape has made upon me; for, to use General Fitzpatrick's words, who saw the same scene, but apparently under much less favourable circumstances, "I never have occasion to mention the stupendous mountains which constitute this most interesting picture, that I do not indulge in an enthusiasm of expression as well as of imagination that may appear either very affected, or very extravagant, both to those who have never beheld, or those who are familiar with such Alpine scenes." *

* Fitzpatrick's Nepaul.

I must say, however, having now seen this scene twice, and from different points of view, that Dr. Hofmeister's description, in his published tour through India, is not exaggerated; and I believe that Prince Waldemar's party considered, after their very lengthened and adventurous journey through the Himalayah, that the Nepal view was the most magnificent they had seen. It is gratifying to me also to find that Erskine, who has lived for ten or twelve years in the Western Himalayah, places our view of to-day, far, far above anything he had seen heretofore. By-the-by, what does Humboldt mean by saying in his late work, "Aspects of Nature" (1849), that the summits of granite mountains are always rounded: all the ridges of the Himalayah that we saw to-day, had edges sharp as a knife; and Hofmeister makes the same remark of the range generally, which he describes as being so sharp as to be incapable of being walked upon. The granite hills of the Deccan of India, and most granite hills, I believe, accord with Humboldt's description, but nothing can be more abrupt and angular than the pinnacles of the Himalayah.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Departure from Nepal.—Descent through the Fever Passes.—Description of Terai.

15th.—Chittong. Left the valley to-day at 2 P.M.; got here at half-past 6. It only took me one hour and twenty minutes up the *Chanda Giri* and forty minutes down, in a *dandy*—a conveyance which I approve of much for these hills.

It is remarkable the heavy heart with which I am descending into the plains; but to return to a life of official duties and solitude at Bombay, after the friendly life I have been leading with the hospitable Erskines is depressing. There is no country in the world in which friendships are more valuable than in India, for in no country is there so little of out-door amusement or distraction. The weather also conspires to aggravate my bad spirits, for it was raining and cold all up the pass, and at the top I could see just enough of the snowy range to perceive what a sublime prospect there must be, when clouds and rain do not intervene to prevent it.

The powar (as they call the dharamsalas in this country), where I am lodged for the night, is, however, a very good one, and not infested by noisy, dirty faquirs, as some of those were on our road up,

to the infinite annoyance of poor M. And I ought to remark, whilst I think of it, that I have never seen such a profusion of excellent, substantial dar-amsalas in any part of the East as in this country; and, indeed, I should say that the Nepalese altogether are the best *lodged* people in the world. In the whole of their populous valley, I do not recollect to have seen one cottage of a single story; all of them are substantial, brick-built, upper-storied houses, and very many of them with a profusion of fine wood-carving in the doorways, and projecting windows, which would make Prout rejoice to find such excellent subjects for his pencil.

16th.—Bhim-Pheed. This march of twelve miles took me six hours, the Sissia Gurry mountain occupying two hours and a half. This hill, like the Chiria Ghatty range, which is still lower, is clothed with fir, whereas on the much higher mountains encircling Nepal I did not see one. I had showers all the way, and found it quite cold and unpleasant.

17th.—Hetura. Made this march to-day in four hours and a half, my coolies with baggage in eight hours; it is the one in which poor M. was so much oppressed by the malarious climate in making the ascent, and I looked out for her different halting-places with interest. To-day, however, there was not the same intoxicating, overpowering perfume in the air, as when we went up, although there was a violent hail and thunder storm directly after I arrived, and the people at this village are complaining of the *aul*. The march is surpassingly beautiful—

pity that all this fine scenery, as Madame de Stäel said of the enchantment of Rome, "*c'est la mort.*"

19th. — Sugowly. Arrived here last night at 10 P.M., having left Hetura at 6 A.M. — reached Bicheakoh on pony in three hours and three quarters —got into palkie and through the Terai in two hours, and then very quick over the grassy plains to this place. What is strictly called the Terai, that is, the forest at the foot of the hills, is not more than eight miles in breadth, but the march from Bicheakoh to Hetura is up such a gentle ascent that the forest is of exactly the same character (chiefly Sál, *Shorea robusta*), and is as much Terai as the lower part; indeed, Hetura is in the heart of the most deadly district, and the inhabitants of the village looked all sufferers, with enlarged spleens and emaciated arms. Coming over the level plains of India, after I once left Nepal, made an impression by no means favourable after the picturesque and occasional sublime scenery of the mountains, and I feel so much like a schoolboy, "creeping like snail," unwillingly back to Bombay, that I would much rather spend the next ten months in Nepal, lonely as it is, but in company with my friends.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Benares.—English College erecting.—Temples.—Wealth of Benares. —Anglo-Indian Registration.

BENARES, March 23rd.—Arrived here this morning at 9 A.M., having left Sugowly at 7 A.M. on the 20th; drove over to Motihari, thirteen miles, to Mr. Cockburn's, the joint-magistrate, to breakfast—spent the day there, and went on in the afternoon—palanquin-dâk—to Chuprah, sixty miles, where I breakfasted with my old schoolfellow Hathorn—started again at 2 P.M., and reached Ghazipoor the next evening at 6 P.M.,—drank a cup of tea with P. Trench, and started again in my palkie for this place—203 miles —and a very hot journey I found it. Yesterday, hot winds raging, and clouds of dust—very excellent roads and uninterrupted cultivation the whole way, though after leaving Champawan and Tirhut and the moist climate under the hills, the country assumes a very sandy and arid-looking appearance as one approaches the Ganges. Yet they tell me that the land is more fertile here, for a continuance, than in the more green-looking and moister district of Gorakpur. And my informant—Mr. Reade, who is my host here —ought to know, for he was formerly collector of Gorakpur, and is now commissioner here.

24th.—Visited yesterday the new college which is

building under the auspices of Captain Kittoe, a great archæologist, artist, and enthusiast. My host, Mr. Reade, appears to have been very active amongst the natives, inducing them, by his own good example, to subscribe liberally, and dedicating different portions of the building to the names of such as contribute largely. The college will afford accommodation for about one thousand scholars, and is built in the later English Gothic style, from a design of Captain Kittoe's, and is not to cost more than R.75,000 (£7500). It is by far the best-designed public building I have seen in India, and the stone carvings for the decoration, which Captain Kittoe is bestowing upon it, all of them from his own drawings, and many of them executed by himself, are deserving of all praise. I threw out a hint to him that we should be glad to have his services at Bombay to build us a college, and he seemed to like the idea. In fact, he is one of those men whose energy shrinks at nothing, and I was amused in going round his work-yard to see the quantity of work he was undertaking in all quarters and of all kinds,—churches, tombs, wood-carvings, pulpits; in fact, the contribution of his own work to this building must be, in this country, worth at least 5000*l*. Like all enthusiasts, however, his genius requires curbing, and Mr. Reade tells me he has much difficulty to keep him within his estimates.

25th.—Have been all through the city this morning, to the top of the minár of Arang Zib's masjid, from whence I had a fine view of the whole town, also to

the temple of Vishveshwar, the most sacred in Benares, dedicated to Shiva as Lord of the universe; indeed, Benares is much more the capital of the Shivaites than of the Vaishnevas, for nearly all the temples appear to be dedicated to Shiva or to his wife. I then went to the *Mán Mandil,* the most ancient building in the city, though it does not date back further than three hundred years, and finally to the house of Kashmiri Mull, a very excellent specimen of the dwelling of a merchant prince when in its glory, but the firm is in a decayed state, and everything is going to rack and ruin. All these localities are to be found figured in James Prinsep's views of Benares, so no more need be said of them. The town is most remarkable from its high houses and extremely narrow streets, too narrow and winding even for an elephant, and in a tonjon we found it difficult to get along. It is remarkable that, although Benares is such an ancient city, and although the building material is a very excellent sand-stone, so very few specimens (indeed none) of antiquity should be found. But the fact, I believe, is, that under Mussalman dominion, the pilgrimage to Benares, on which the prosperity of the town so much depends, and the gifts to Brahmans and to temples, were by no means of common occurrence. It was only when a Hindu dynasty got into power under the Marathas that the wealth and piety of India poured themselves out, and under the tolerant system of the English they continue to flow here in uninterrupted streams. I do not hear, however, of the wealthy

merchants and bankers that Benares used to be celebrated for, and the greatest millionaire is not said to be worth more than thirty laks (£300,000). Mirzapoor, Muttra, Ahmedabad, and other cities contain, no doubt, many more wealthy men. We then proceeded to one of the shops, where a wealthy man showed us the kincobs, elephant-trappings, &c., of Benares manufacture, — some of the latter beautiful; and Mr. Reade, who has an unlimited order from government to buy anything handsome for the Hyde-Park Exposition of 1851, gave a large order. The housing of an elephant in gold brocade costs 250*l.*, and with complete paraphernalia about 400*l.*, and those we saw had been just finished for the rajah of Vizágapatám of the Madras presidency, a young man who has had an English education at Benares, and of whom I hear excellent accounts.

We lastly paid a visit to the Benares College, in which Sanscrit is the main study, but unfortunately did not find the able principal, Dr. Ballantyne, who had gone down the river to blow up some trees with a galvanic battery. They—the pupils—are very badly lodged at present, the Pandits, about sixty in number, being in one building; those obtaining English, Persian, Arabic, and vernacular instruction, about 250 in number, are in a common bungalow. I did not perceive much life or symptoms of activity in the establishment; and as little boys of six years old enter the classes, the cognomen of College is as ill-applied as in some other parts of India. The Sanscrit pupils, as at Bombay, do not seem to be

sent forth into the world with any means of gaining a livelihood, whereas, according to the statements of the head-master, Mr. Nicholls, his good pupils in English pick up their R.100 a month, without much difficulty. He also volunteered the remark that the publications of the Delhi Vernacular Society find no sale, and that they had cart-loads on their shelves which they could not dispose of.

March 26th.—Drove to Sarnáth this morning, where I had the ciceroneship of Captain Kittoe, who is making excavations by orders of government. It is one of the Budhist temples which remain in this part of the world; a hemispherical basement coated with stone, and decorated with bold ornaments in relief, and surmounted by a solid brick tower, altogether about one hundred feet high. There was a large Vihára connected with it, and innumerable small Budhist temples and dagobas, which are coming to light every day.

Gaya is another locality where the same assemblage is to be found, and between Motíharri and Chapra I passed another tower built on a mound, which, when erect, must have been four hundred feet high. Yet, how strange that a religion which arose in India—which flourished here for so long, and which even now enumerates more votaries than any other religion on earth—does not possess a single follower at the present day in India Proper. I afterwards went with Mr. Reade to see the working of the collector's office, and the facility afforded by their system for gaining information as to any portion

of land in the district. We selected a village at random, and immediately was produced the map giving its limits on a scale of a quarter of a mile to an inch, with details as to the quantity of land, wells, soil, &c. Other books furnished us with the history of the village since the settlement in 1795; the names of the proprietors, the mutations in the land, the number and subject of the suits brought respecting the land, &c. &c.; and all this was furnished in about five minutes, and is furnishable to *any* individual who applies, on the payment of a fee of eight annas, or one shilling.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Improvement of Gorakpur under the English. — Leave Benares for Calcutta.—Appearance of Bahar.—Employment of Brahmans.

MR. READE, who had charge of one of the provinces ceded to us from Oude—Gorakpur—and who, as an excellent revenue officer, developed its resources, gave me some interesting details of its improved state. When he joined the station in 1829, jungle came up to the very doors of the town, wild elephants constantly roamed through the cantonment at night, agriculture was quite stationary, population thin, and the revenue of the collectorate was only five laks (£50,000). By opening roads, by getting large boats built to drop down the Rapty, and by stimulating the capitalists at Calcutta to invest their money in the soil, the province has become a largely exporting one,—opium, sugar, indigo, and grain, finding a ready vent by these outlets, which were before unknown to the inhabitants; and at the settlement which was made a few years ago, for twenty years certain, the revenue was raised to twenty-two laks (£220,000), and yet it is considered to be too lightly assessed. He says, when he first arrived there, the ryots used only to get three (Bengal) seers of indigo the acre or bigah (I forget which), but by increased care, with the

incisions and scrapings (and for this the children of the ryot are as effective as himself), the produce is increased to nine seers! The province generally reminded me much of Gujarát, from its fertility, its greenness, its frequent mango-groves, but in its roads of such economic construction, and in its water-carriage to Calcutta, how infinitely superior! And indeed, although we boast in Western India, and justly, boast, of the fertility of Gujarát, when one compares it with the hundreds of square miles of equal fertility and superior moisture which Gorakpur, Champáran, and Tirhút present, the Bombay province becomes quite an infinitesimal consideration.

March 27th.—Sasserám, seventy-two miles. Left Benares yesterday at half-past 4 P.M., arrived here at 12 A.M., for it is only practicable now to travel by night. The heat not oppressive, as the hot wind had scarcely got up, and was at my back, and the more I approach Bengal, the cooler I shall find it, they tell me. The horizon for the last twenty miles has been bounded by a low range of hills on the right, a spur of the Vindhya, round or under which the Soane rolls, which I cross to-night, and so get into Bahar.

28th.—Shereghátty, fifty-six miles. Left Sasserám half-past 4 P.M., got here half-past 8 A.M., exactly three and a half miles an hour. The distances furnished me by Dr. Butter, the Benares postmaster, are all wrong. Crossed the Soane yesterday; its sandy beds, and narrow channels of water, only

one of which required a boat, took me exactly an hour; and as the men came a good pace, I calculate the distance is three miles,—a formidable obstacle to a railway, the whole being under water, as it is, for four or five months of the year. Directly on entering Bahar, I was struck with the quantity of jungle, the first of any extent I had seen for hundreds of miles, and reminding one of our side of India. But the soil is evidently very sterile, as the Vindya range dies away in these plains, and quartz and sandstone prevail abundantly. Moreover, as a Mussalman, Shaik Kibbudin of Sasserám who called on me at the bungalow, informs me, the rainy season is very precarious here, and the appearance of the country justifies the remark.

I forgot to observe yesterday, in my observations of the Gorakpur district, that Mr. Reade, having persuaded the Calcutta capitalists that an outlay might be beneficially made by way of advances to the ryots for sugar, for opium, &c., he succeeded in inducing them to shell out, and their gomashtas or managers were employed in different parts of the country, to make advances to the cultivators. Success being fully commensurate with the outlay, these parties at once rushed from three laks (£30,000), which was the limit suggested, to thirty laks, which they threw into the country in one year, and produced great mischief to the people, as well as injury to themselves by their over-speculation.

In the Champáram collectorate, the opium agent, Mr. McDonald, a shrewd Scotchman, informed me

that he advanced every year thirteen laks (£130,000) to the ryots for their opium, which is a new growth in that country, and the advance therefore is so much additional hard cash introduced into the country. Unfortunately the greater part of it is under Lord Cornwallis's perpetual settlement to the Bettiah Rajah, who pays three or five laks (I forget which), and pockets about twelve laks (£120,000) besides, and yet, on diligent inquiry, I cannot learn that such a millionaire is of the least benefit to the country; and it is certain that if Government had the land instead of the rajah, by *additional* cultivation and *improved* cultivation the revenue might go up to thirty laks instead of fifteen.

I observe that Brahmans are extremely little employed in the public offices in this part of India, and I understand that they are chiefly illiterate, and beggars. On the other hand, Mussalmans are found in great numbers in the judicial offices, thus forming an exact contrast to what occurs on the Bombay side; the cause, however, being obvious, viz., that the Bombay Government has succeeded to a Brahman dynasty, under which all offices of any value were filled by Brahmans, whilst in the north-west and Bengal presidencies the Mussalmans were nearly everywhere our predecessors. The Hindus in the offices are chiefly Kayats (who are not, I believe, of a very good cast), and their appearance is decidedly inferior, both as to good looks and intelligence, to that of the Mahratta Brahmans.

29th.—Barkutta, sixty miles. Left at half-past

4 P.M., arrived here half-past 8 A.M. I have now got on comparatively high land, and find it much cooler. The rivers now run south into the Bay of Bengal, instead of north-easterly to the Ganges, so I have crossed the watershed. The grand trunk-road continues to excite my admiration fully as much as when I first became acquainted with it at Meerut, 450 miles further north; for although kunkur is no longer available here, and they are obliged in these parts to resort to a very indifferent material, quartz, and therefore the road does not present the same homogeneous compact mass as the roads of kunkur, still, by mixing the quartz with gravel, and I suspect some lime, they have obtained a noble road; and then such fine bridges! One last night, over the Fulgo, which is now building, and which is the finest work of the kind I have seen in India; a suspension bridge the night before, over the Dhadur (I believe); and a fine bridge here, close to the bungalow, over the Barrakur; and all these bridges cross the stream, be it observed, at a level,—a raised causeway sustaining the road, and maintaining an excellent level throughout the line.

30th.—Fitcoörie, fifty-four and a half miles. Left at half-past 4 P.M., arrived half-past 8 A.M., being rather less than three miles and a-half an hour. The bearers one stage were the smallest, slightest men I have seen in India. I don't think one of them exceeded five feet, and the only one with anything like muscle, betrayed, by his thick lips and woolly hair, such unmistakeable signs of African

paternity, that it would be a curious fact to ascertain how a stalwart *Sidi* * could have found his way to the Hindu *letto conjugale.* I did not venture, however, to propose any questions. Country still hilly and sterile, almost wholly uncultivated, with abundance of quartz rock, and occasionally granite or gneiss cropping out. They mend the road, however, exclusively with quartz.

* *Sidi* is the universal term by which the African negro is denominated in India. It is connected with *Saiad,* by which the descendants of the Prophet are known. The Spanish term Cid has the same origin.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Native Gratitude to English Benefactors.

I WAS pleased to find whilst at Benares in what grateful recollection the names of Warren Hastings and Jonathan Duncan, and particularly the latter, were held by the inhabitants. Jonathan Duncan, who was afterwards governor of Bombay, originally settled Benares, as the expression is, and his institutions have had the singular fortune, so rare in India, of subsisting intact to this day. A common form of speech by a native of Benares, who desires to say something flattering to a European, is,—"I your slave,—you my god, my father, my mother, my Dunkin." Mr. Reade, my host, whose mother was the daughter of Warren Hastings' pamphleteering friend, Major Scott, possesses a very fine miniature of Hastings, by Zoffani (engraved in Gleig's Life), and he says that the veneration of Hastings is such at Benares, that he has no doubt the portrait would sell for ten thousand rupees (1000*l.*)

Amongst other persons whom I saw at Benares was the deposed Rajah of Curg, of whose atrocities and cruelties to British subjects, as well as to his own, I heard such accounts whilst in his country some years ago; but here the man appears well-disposed,

perfectly quiet; and he drives about the station with a high-trotting horse in his buggy, and appears much liked in the English society. He gets 5000 rupees a month, and dresses one of his two daughters in the English style, and is anxious to send her home as a present to the Queen!

March 31st.—Kyrasole, sixty-five miles. Left at a quarter-past 3 P.M., arrived at half-past 9 A.M. Have got out of sterile, raviny Bahar, and find myself among the coal districts. The country somewhat improved in fertility, and much in moisture, rice growing in parts, and the borassus palm very generally; still much jungle, and the soil, red sandstone and quartz, barren enough. They all tell me that the hot weather has not set in yet, so I am very fortunate, and I certainly have suffered neither from heat nor dust, except when I ran all day from Chuprah with the hot wind in my face. They make the roads here in parts either with iron slag or laterite—the latter, I suspect, as the face of the road is very like those in Ceylon, or the Red Hill near Reigate: I found, subsequently, on inspection, it is kunkur tinged with iron. They are obliged, however, to resort to other stone, though, occasionally, kunkur seems to be available in quantities. I find excellent bungalows all along the road, and it is only a traveller used to the Bombay and Madras presidencies who can well appreciate them. The establishment is—a khansaman, or butler, six rupees; bearer, four rupees; sweeper, three rupees; they have all punkas and tatties, and sufficient furniture, crockery, and

silver. In short, a traveller need take nothing but his tea and sugar. The one I am in to-day is the best I have seen, but much depends on the khansaman, and if he is a careful fellow, he supplies many things not furnished by the superintendent.

April 1st.—Mamaru, fifty-three miles. Did the journey at rather less than three and a half miles an hour. Find the climate here quite Bengally—moist heat—determination to the skin—and nothing but rice-fields, tanks, and the ugly brab-tree (*borassus flabelliformis*), so like the broom at the mast-head of a ship for sale.

Sitting beside this grand trunk-road for the last few days, as I have done, it is remarkable to see how little remunerative traffic there is upon it—by traffic, I mean travellers who can afford to pay for transport. The passengers are chiefly foot-passengers; and I have met, since the 26th, when I started, only Lady Dalhousie's party (three persons), and, I think, three other carriages, and four palanquins. Supposing that a railway proceeds along this line, and except the obstacle of the Soane—which, after all, is nothing, engineeringly speaking—where are the profits to come from? Coal from the Burdwan mines will form a considerable item, but sterile, uncultivated Bahar can afford little else; and the price of rice here does not seem to show that it can find its way to Calcutta with advantage. Then as to passengers: the greater number of those who make the route, as I observed, are pedestrians, and they do the journey from Benares

to Calcutta in about thirty days. An eka, or one-horse chaise, or a bullock hackry, either of which holds three, does the journey in the same time, for forty rupees; but the fare by railway, at twopence a-head per mile (420 miles), would be thirty-five rupees. It therefore would seem to follow that only that class who can afford to have a carriage to themselves would travel by railway; or, supposing that the facilities of railway travelling would increase the number of travellers tenfold, multiply that class by ten, and add to it the number of European travellers, (and the dâk-books furnish accurate statistics on this head), and you have the total number of passengers who may be expected. My opinion is, that the number will be exceedingly small.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Arrival at Calcutta.—Voyage to Bombay.—Indian Confessions.

APRIL 2nd.—Reached Calcutta and Mr. Mills's nicely furnished house at 9 A.M. Spent seven days in Calcutta without much enjoyment. I had seen the town and its institutions thoroughly before, and at a better season of the year, for the heat was now becoming very great, and the nights especially were oppressive. I feel quite decided, however, that, on the whole, Calcutta is the best place in India to reside at. We have, I think, a better climate at Bombay; and our hill station within twenty-four hours, and rainy monsoon station within twelve hours, and the sea always open to us on the west, are all great advantages; but the city life of Calcutta, which allows of society on easier forms than does our *vie de campagne* of Bombay, its much larger society containing, of course, more talent and more variety, its being the seat of government, which brings many more public topics on the *tapis* every day, and its excellent English shops give it, to my taste, resources which no other part of India can boast of. Besides which the grand trunk-road in one direction, and the increasing number of steamers in the other, are daily making it a more facile arrangement to escape from

Calcutta to a different climate, when ill-health or fancy require it. Was at Lord Dalhousie's great ball, which presented less beauty than I anticipated, and found him looking all the worse for his two years' residence in India, and at the Mills's hospitable board was glad to renew my acquaintance with such able men as John Colvin, Halliday, and Sir H. Elliot.

The most agreeable two hours I spent in Calcutta were with Peel at his old house in Garden Reach. We discussed law reform, and Bethune and his black acts, which are exciting so much discussion in India at the present moment, &c.

April 20th.—At sea on board the Malta, lat. 10 deg. 30 min., off Quilon.

Left Calcutta at 8 A.M., on the 8th, in the Haddington steamer, and the sand-heads at daybreak on the 10th; reached Madras on the 14th, at 9 P.M., where we stopped twenty-four hours, and reached Point de Galle the 19th, at 1 P.M., stopped there twenty-four hours, started the 18th, in Malta steamer, and am now slowly making my way up the Malabar coast to Bombay at five and a half miles an hour.

A large party on board the Haddington, but no very interesting elements. Jung Bahadur and his suite from Nepal, eighteen in all, comprising his priest, his doctor, artist, two brothers, and some of the principal sirdars of his court, were the most remarkable. Erskine's predecessor at Katmandu, Colonel Thoresby, was also there,—a gentlemanlike,

well-informed old man, and great Sanscrit scholar; Sir Edward Gambier and his wife, returning from India; Lady Buller, with two sweet children, going down to Ceylon, to spend the hot weather at Neuralia; Colonel Lockwood of the 3rd Dragoons, who keeps his stall at the Opera, and lodgings in Jermyn Street, with his regiment at Umbala, close to the foot of the Himalayah—and he vibrates between the two, year after year. He travels with great speed; and this year came down from Umbala in nine and a half days, about eleven hundred miles.

At Madras I went on shore for a few hours; and a friend of mine there, a magistrate, told me a curious case which had just occurred, illustrative of Indian confessions. Two men had been tried for a murder, some years ago, and, upon slight circumstantial evidence, but principally on their own confessions, they were convicted and sentenced to transportation. The other day some thugs, who had been caught in Central India, made a full confession of their crimes, and, amongst others, of this very murder in Madras. The government inquired into the matter, and finding that two men had been transported for this very offence, immediately gave orders that they should be brought back to India, and directed that some compensation should be made to them on their return. Major Clerk (my informant) had to carry out this order; but it appeared that one man had died under sentence, and the other, directly he touched the shore of Madras, scampered away like a hare to his own village, and would not go near the government

authorities, who were desirous of hearing his story, and of doing something for him. The poor fellow thought, no doubt, that he had had enough to do already with the government.

Mr. Reade, the commissioner of Benares, told me a story that well caps the above. When he was collector at Gorakpur, he one day visited the jail, and happened to ask a prisoner what he was there for. The man smiled, and said "Murder." Reade replied, that murder was no joking matter; on which the man said, "Yes, but I am not guilty; and what is more, the man is alive now." There was something in the man's manner which made Mr. Reade inquire particularly into the case; and the story told him was, that the party supposed to be murdered, who was a barkandáz of police, had had an intrigue with the wife of the prisoner's brother, upon which the prisoner and his three brothers laid a plot to waylay him one night, and give him a good drubbing. They did so accordingly, and the policeman either fell, or was thrown by them, into a river, by the side of which they had been waylaying him. The man being missing, and suspicion being strong against the four brothers, it was agreed amongst themselves that, as harvest-time was near, the prisoner should take the crime entirely on his own shoulders, and so get the others liberated. He did so, admitted the murder, and of course was found guilty; but, probably on the score of the corpse not being found, was sentenced only to imprisonment for life, and a pension was given to the family of the mur-

dered policeman. This story was told with such vrai-similitude, that Reade made a careful inquiry into the whole, and found every word of it true; and after much trouble discovered the policeman hundreds of miles off, acting as a peon at the Court of Nagpore, glad to think that his family, in the mean time, had been well provided for at Gorakpur, by a pension from Government for his supposed death. The rogue had no doubt kept purposely out of the way, in order to secure this provision for his family.

My own experience of a famous case at Tanna tallies well with the above stories; for there I saw three prisoners standing at the bar who had given a circumstantial confession of a murder, and pointed out the very spot where the bones of the murdered man would be found. These were produced in court; and part of the clothes and the cast thread of the murdered man were identified by his friends and relations. Yet the doctor, my intelligent friend, Dr. Kirk—who accompanied Sir W. Harris to Abyssinia—on examining the bones ascertained that they belonged to three or four different corpses; and as this incident gave a sort of hitch to the proceedings, and prolonged the trial, the result was, that before it was over, the murdered man himself walked into court, and, it is said, was seen to examine his own bones with infinite curiosity. The story which he told, and which accounted for his remarkable disappearance from his village on the night of the supposed murder, was not the least remarkable part of the tale, and is a good illustration of "Manners in the East." He

had been seen last somewhat near the house of the prisoners; and he stated that as he was going homeward, he met four or five Arab soldiers, who pressed him into their train to carry a bundle, and who made him accompany them for a six weeks' march into the interior, somewhere beyond Poona. When they dismissed him, he was taken ill of fever, and laid some months sick at a village in the Deccan. When, at last, after four months' absence, he got back to his own village, he found that three of his neighbours stood a near chance of being hung, on their own confession, for murdering him. So, like an honest fellow, he made his way to the criminal court, which, luckily for the prisoners, was not above ten miles off. It would seem most probable that the confessions in question had been extorted by the violence of the subordinate native police.

April 24th.—Bombay. Arrived here to-day at 4 P.M., fourteen days from the sand-heads, and sixteen from Calcutta.

At Galle, where I stopped twenty-four hours, I found at the hotel my old elephant-shooting friend Captain Gallwey, who was coming up to Bombay on his road to England, and who of course was delighted to find that I was on the same tack, as I had been for years inviting him to pay me a visit. We had a tedious passage of six days up the coast in the Malta steamer, which, with five hundred horse-power, did not average more than seven miles an hour; but after the crowd and heat of the Haddington, we found the change at first very agreeable, though the

ennui and want of interest in all steam-boat travelling soon made the trajet a very dull one to us. Unless on shipboard one has a good cabin to retire to, in which there is sufficient air and sufficient light to enable you to pass some hours quietly every day, the life becomes worse than that of any prison—at least to me.

I find myself so busy on returning to Bombay, with arrears of educational controversies awaiting me; with a new law court to be established; with my chambers in the court-house to furnish and fit myself into; and with the letters of four overland mails to reply to, that I am unable to devote a few minutes to the taking a careful retrospect of the tour, which has lasted exactly five months. It has been, on the whole, an exceedingly interesting one, as it has given a complete inspection (bird's-eye view, though it be) of the whole of Upper India. I have learnt to know the Rajputs in their most honoured localities; the Mussalmans of Oude in their fertile but disorganised kingdom; and the active and thriving Gorkhas in their mountain fastnesses. I have seen nearly all the fine architectural remains of Upper India, and at the Holy Benares, at Muttra, Bindrábund, and Ayodhia. I have seen Hinduism and its operations in their most developed state. Above all, I have seen such a phase of the Himalaya as to efface every other scene of mountain magnificence which I had before witnessed. Living, moreover, almost exclusively with civilians, I have been enabled to study with some care the workings of government

in the north-west provinces and in Bengal; and, on the other hand, the coming in contact with indigo-planters and grantees, has given me some little inkling as to the manner of man which characterises this class.

CHAPTER XL.

ON THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE PRINCIPAL LANGUAGES OF INDIA.*

INDIA, according to the most temperate authorities,† contains about one hundred and forty-one millions of inhabitants, who are distributed by Native geographers over fifty-seven, or, as some write, eighty-four provinces, all with peculiar languages.‡ Although this enumeration of different languages is, as we shall presently see, grossly exaggerated, there is no doubt that the diversity of tongues is very great; and the obstacle thereby interposed to free intercourse, and the diffusion of ideas from any central authority, is too obvious to be pointed out.

In our present state of knowledge, no description of the limits of the principal languages of India can be anything more than an approximation to the truth, nor is it likely, for a long period to come, that an accurate language-map of India can be constructed. For, first of all, the limits of two neighbouring languages often occur in wild, unexplored, or unpeopled, tracts of country, so as to prevent the tracing of a precise boundary line; and, secondly, there have been such frequent vicissitudes among the governing Hindu races, each extending its language in turn over the territory of its neighbour, as

* Reprinted from the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, January, 1853.

† Elphinstone's India, vol. i. p. 5.

‡ See Colebrooke, in As. Res. vol. xxiii. p. 220; but these are mythical numbers.

to have created in many parts a complicated intermingling of languages, which would require for their unravelment a more minute inquiry, and closer study of the localities, than any European has yet been able to institute. Thus, in the country called, in Hindu nomenclature, *Karnátaka Désa*, or the high table-land above the Western and Eastern Ghâts of the peninsula,—which the English call, with no very precise definition, the Deccan,* the Southern Marátha Country, and Mysore,—Canarese and Marátha dynasties have alternately succeeded each other, and both have been broken in upon by invading powers from the Coromandel Coast in the south, so that the Canarese, Maráthi, and Tamil languages, have penetrated, each with a deep indent, into the language-region of its neighbours. Thus, on travelling through the Sátára districts last January, I found Canarese spoken in villages much to the north of the limits assigned to it by the best authorities, reaching nearly up to Pandarpur; Maráthi, on the other hand, extends far to the south of Pandarpur, and Canarese and Marátha villages will be found to alternate throughout these districts, just as *Johannes von Müller* describes villages in Switzerland, where French is spoken on one side of a crooked street, and German on the other.

Notwithstanding, however, the numerous languages which have been assigned by Bráhmans to India, it was perceived by them from a very early period that a simple classification might be made; and a two-fold division was determined on, depending, mainly, on geographical considerations, by which five northern languages were grouped in one class, and five southern languages in another, under the denominations, so familiar to us in India, of *Panch Gaur* and *Panch Dravid*.

According to the enumeration of the Bráhman pundits,

* The ancient Hindu geographers gave the name of Dakshina, or the South, to the whole of India south of the Narbadda: the Mahomedans confined this name to the country south of the Krishna, while the English apply it in a different sense from either and seem to confine it to the table-land between Kandésh and the Krishna.

whom Colebrooke cites,* the following is the distribution usually given ; and I need scarcely mention, that whilst the name of *Gaur*, or Bengal, is extended to the whole of Northern India, or Hindustan, the name of that part of the Coromandel Coast between the twelfth and thirteenth parallels of north latitude, called *Dravida*, is applied to the whole peninsula :—

The five "Gaurs."	*The five "Dravids."*
1. Saraswati (extinct).	1. Tamil.
2. Kanoji.	2. Maráthi.
3. Gaur, or Bengáli.	3. Carnatic.
4. Maithila, or Tirhuti.	4. Telinga, or Telugu.
5. Orissa, or Urya.	5. Gujaráti.

Mr. Elphinstone† gives a somewhat different division, assigning Gujaráti to the northern, and Urya to the southern languages; and the *Haiga* Bráhmans, in Canara, give a third list of the *Dravids*, excluding, strangely enough, the country on the Malabar Coast where they themselves are domiciled.‡

But it is unnecessary to examine these Bráhminical divisions further, as they are founded on no scientific principle, and convey little accurate information, although, by accident, the binary or mechanical division which geography, or, perhaps, a fanciful notion of symmetry, seems to have suggested, is the same which the increased knowledge of philology in the present day enables us to adopt. It would be unjust, however, not to add that the largeness of views, and the great amount of observation which rendered a generalisation so nearly approaching to the truth possible, does infinite credit to Bráhminical intellect at the early period when these conclusions were drawn.

When European scholars first began to study the languages of India with diligence, they were inclined to suppose that the southern languages, as well as the

* See Colebrooke, As. Res. vol. xxiii. p. 219.

† India, vol. i. p. 278.

‡ F. Buchanan's Mysore, vol. iii. p. 90.

northern, were derived from the Sanskrit. Dr. Cary, Wilkins, and Colebrooke, were all of this opinion. Mr. Campbell, in his Grammar of the Telugu or Telinga language, was the first to dispute this affiliation, and he pointed out the mode in which the Bráhmans had made large importations from the sacred language of their religion into all the southern tongues, so as to give the latter the appearance of a derivation from the Sanskrit. Ellis, who is the great authority on the southern languages, carried the investigation further; and he showed that the chief languages of the peninsula,—viz. (1) Kárnátaca, (2) Telugu, (3) Malayálam, (4) Tulu, (5) Tamil, —all belong to one family,* of which the latter is the most cultivated; and now, Campbell, Ellis, Rask, and Lassen all seem to agree with the Rev. Mr. Taylor, that the Támil and Sanskrit languages belong to essentially distinct stocks.† Mr. Taylor further thinks that there was originally one simple homogeneous dialect, spoken by rude aborigines, from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, of which the Tamil is the cultivated representative.

It scarcely, however, accords with the philological experience of other parts of the world, that at a period when the native of India was a rude savage, one homogeneous tongue should prevail over the vast limits comprehended between the Himalayas and the Equator —for Ceylon, the Laccadives, and the Maldives equally fall within the Tamiloid zone. It would rather seem that, if such a wide extension of one language, or of closely allied languages can be demonstrated, its diffusion must be owing to the operations of some race already arrived at a considerable degree of culture. Undoubtedly the evidence of this wide diffusion of what I term (in order to avoid theorising), a Tamiloid language, is very strong, and it is accumulating every day. Thus Mr. Reeve points out, in the Preface to his Canarese Dictionary, that "the affinity between the Teloogoo and Karnátaca is

* See note in Campbell's Telugu Grammar, p. 3.

† See Preface to Rottler's Tamil Dictionary.

so great, that frequently it is only necessary to change an initial or an inflection to make the correspondence complete." But Ellis, as we have seen, shows both of these languages to be cognate with Tamil. Again: the Tamil-speaking inhabitants of the Coromandel Coast can make themselves intelligible when they get into the districts on the opposite side of the peninsula, where Malayálam is vernacular.* So "the language of Tulava, (on the Coast of Canara,) has a strong resemblance to that of Malayálá,"† though, as I gather from the Tulu-speaking natives of the Malabar Coast whom I have met in Bombay,‡ they are unable to understand their Malayálam neighbours. But it is not only in the fertile lowlands near the sea on either side of the peninsula, and on the easily-traversed plains of the plateau, that the Tamil family of languages is to be found. The valuable collection of manuscripts accumulated by Colonel Mackenzie, and the inscriptions gathered at great expense and pains by Mr. Walter Elliot,§ afford us evidence of those wide provinces having been reigned over by Tamil and Canarese dynasties within historical periods, and hence the diffusion of these languages is explained. It is only when we penetrate the more remote and wild localities of India,—that singular language-group, or isle of languages (as Ritter terms it), the Nil Giris, where, it is said, five distinct languages are vernacular, the wilds of Gondwana, the hill-tops of Central India and of Sindh,—and listen to the evidence as to the traces there discoverable of a Tamiloid tongue, that we become convinced of its wide and early diffusion. Captain Hark-

* F. Buchanan's Mysore, vol. ii. p. 346. † Ibid. vol. iii. p. 90.

‡ Hundreds of these men (they call themselves two thousand) are to be found in Bombay as palanquin-bearers, and hamalls; but the bearer caste generally in Bombay, called Camatties, and the *Bui* above the Ghâts in the Deccan, who carry palanquins, are from Tellinghana. The Camatties in Bombay have been settled here for a long period, but retain their Tulugu language, and, by the last census, it appears that the part of the native town where they are located contains above eleven thousand souls.

§ See article on Hindu Inscriptions, Jour. Roy. As. Soc. vol. iv. p. 8.

ness, who was the first scholar to examine closely the language spoken by that remarkable race the *Todas* on the Nil Giris, pronounces it to be closely allied to the Tamil,* and the subsequent investigations of the German missionaries confirm this conclusion.† The inhabitants of the mountains of Coorg, who in independent bearing, good looks, and all the outward signs of well-being, are by far the finest race I have seen in India, speak a language called *Kodagu*, which Mr. Ellis informs us is a dialect of Tulu.‡ On the crest of that high and romantic range, extending from Cochin to Cape Comorin, and reaching to eight or nine thousand feet above the sea, Francis Buchanan found that the rude tribes spoke "a dialect differing only in accent from Tamil."§ Again: Mr. Ellis points out that the language of the mountaineers of Rajmahal, dividing Bengal from Bahar, abounds in terms common to the Tamil and Telinga; and Mr. Hodgson, who has paid particular attention to this subject, after comparing the vocabularies of seven languages now spoken by rude tribes in Central India, pronounces all of them to belong to the Tamil;‖ and the Brahui, on the mountains of Sindh, are said to have a language very like that of the Todas. Indeed, the interesting inquiries which our colleague Dr. Stevenson is now conducting respecting the grammatical structure of Indian languages, render it not impossible that a Tamiloid tongue will be hereafter found to have constituted the original staple of all the languages of India, although it has become obscured, and in some instances, like Celtic by the Anglo-Saxon, completely effaced by the preponderance of the intruding Arian element from the north.

* Description of a singular aboriginal race, &c., by Captain Harkness. London, 1832.

† See paper by Dr. Stevenson, in the Bombay Journal, vol. i. p. 155; and a note by Dr. Schmid, ibid. vol. iii. p. 84.

‡ Campbell's Telugu Grammar; but I learn from the Rev. Mr. Mögling of Mangalore, that it is more closely allied to Tamil and Malayálam than to Tulu.

§ Mysore, vol. ii. p. 338.

‖ Paper read before the Calcutta Asiatic Society, December, 1848.

However this may be, in the state of knowledge which we now possess, we are able to determine that a closely allied family of languages extends over the whole of Southern India, cropping out on the hill-tops in Central India, and on the mountains of the West, and, perhaps, also traceable on the southern slopes of the Himalayas. According to Rask, who, with great lingual qualifications, examined the language of Ceylon on the spot, Cinghalese, also, contrary to the received opinion, belongs to this family,* and Lassen states that the languages of the Laccadives and Maldives come within the same category.†

Advancing towards the north, we are met by the intruding languages of a different family, of which Maráthi, or its dialect, Konkani, is the southernmost representative; and, according to the evidence which Lassen with great industry has collected, it would appear that a race from Central Asia, entering India at the north-west,‡ had diffused themselves and their language, their religion and their Bráhminical distinctions, over the plains of India, at a period before true history begins. We may even see traces on record of the mode by which, within a comparatively recent period, the priestly race from the north insinuated themselves into Southern India. In a manuscript in the Malayálam language, written on palm leaves, and forming part of Colonel Mackenzie's collection, an account is given of the introduction of Bráhmans from the north, which seems to contain some glimpses of true history. After describing the elevation of the land on the Malabar Coast by the power of Parasu Rama,—a tradition which, from its recurrence in one shape or another along the whole coast,

* Preface to Singalesisk Skriftlaere. Colombo: 1821. Cited by Lassen, *Indische Alterthumskunde*, i. p. 199.

† The missionary Weigle attributes the language of these islands to the Malayan family, but apparently without reason.—*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, 1848, p. 258.

‡ *Indische Alterthumskunde*, i. p. 400, et seq. Dr. Weber, however, contends, that the Arians entered India from the north. See *Indische Studien*, p. 165. Leipsic: 1849.

and from geological evidence, may possibly shadow forth a true physical fact, the gradual elevation of the seabord, —it is said, "he made the ocean withdraw, and Kerála was created." Rama then "brought Bráhmans from many points, and placed them in Kerálam, but they would not stay there. Therefore, having considered, he brought the Arya Bráhmans from the *Utara Bhumi* [Land of the North], and settled them there. The Arya Bráhmans continued to reside with constancy in Malayálam. This being heard by those that went away at first, they returned again, and these are called the Pattan Tulawar; but having originally come from different quarters, and of different tribes, the Pattan Tulawar *still use different languages.* Afterwards numbers of Tamuler came thither, and between the Tamuler Bráhmans who came, and the Bráhmanar who were already residing, there arose disputes about the burning of a dead body, &c. &c. But how they became Tamuler, and what the truth was, and how the *Bráhma Uat'ya* which had been incurred was cleared from them, Iswar only knows." *

As a general conclusion, therefore, we may say that the whole of India may be divided between two classes of language—the language of the intruding Arians, or Sanskritoid, in the north, and the language of a civilised race in the south of India, represented by its most cultivated branch, the Tamil. Just as the greater and most civilised part of Europe may be divided between two distinct families of language, the Teutonic and the Romanesque. According to this division, the principal languages of India will be ranged as follows :—

Arian, Sanskritoid, or Northern Family.

1. Hindi.	1. *c* Rangri Básha.†	1. *g* Sindhi.
a Hindustani, or Urdu.	*d* Panjábi.	*h* Marwádi.
b Brij Básha.	*e* Multáni.	2. Kashmiri.
	f Játaki.	3. Bengáli.

* Mackenzie Collection, vol. ii. p. 83.
† Malcolm's Central India, vol. ii.

3. *a* Tirhuti.	4. *a* Kachi.*	6. Konkani.
4. Gujaráti.	5. Maráthi.	7. Urya.

Turanian, Tamiloid, or Southern Family.

1. Telugu, or Telinga.	3. Tamil.	5. Tulu.
2. Karnátaka.	4. Malayálam.	6. Gondwani?

Speaking generally, the whole of Upper India, including the Panjáb, from the Himalayan to the Vindhyan range, but exclusive of Bengal, may be said to be possessed by one language, the Hindi. Nor is it only on the plains of Hindustan that it is to be found. On the southern slope of the Himalayas, in Kumaon and Gehrwal, Mr. Trail informs us the language is pure Hindi ;† and generally along the sub-Himalayan range as far as the Gogra river, the impure Hindi dialect introduced by the Gorkhas from the plains appears to be extirpating the vernacular Thibetan tongues of the aboriginal mountaineers.‡ Even beyond the limits I have mentioned, the genius of the language seems to prevail, as Mr. Masson found that with Hindi he could make himself intelligible throughout the whole of Kohistan.§ It is not meant by the use of the word "Hindi" to denote a language of fixed characters, like French or Latin, or even like Bengáli and Maráthi; the term is only used to comprehend under a common designation the various dialects of a language essentially one, but which has received no great cultivation in any of its forms. According to the Bráhman pundits of Benares, "there are hundreds of dialects equally entitled to the name."‖ The Brij Básha (or Bhákha, as it is pronounced on the Ganges), and the Panjábi are the two most cultivated varieties of it,¶ but the Panjábi passes

* Kachi, or the language of Cutch, might, probably, have been better classed under Hindi.

† Official Reports on Kumaon, published by the orders of the Lieutenant-Governor. Agra: 1848.

‡ Mr. Hodgson, As. Res. vol. xvi. p. 415.

§ Masson's Journey, vol. i. p. 220; Ibid. vol. ii. p. 277.

‖ Report of Bombay Board of Education, 1848, p. 5.

¶ Colebrooke in As. Res. vol. vii. p. 230.

into Multáni, which a good philologist has shown to be a corrupted form of Panjábi; whilst Játaki again, further to the south, is a corrupted form of Multáni,* and Sindhi and Hindi, in the opinion of an excellent Hindi scholar, are only provincial varieties.† But Sindhi, according to Lieut. Burton, who has studied it carefully on the spot, is "directly derived from Sanskrit, yet is a perfectly distinct dialect."‡ When the Maráthas extended their conquests into Hindustan, they found Hindi everywhere prevalent, from the limits of the desert to the frontiers of Bundelcund; and, finding it different from their own tongue, they called it, contemptuously, Rangri Básha, *quasi*, barbarous jargon.§ Sir John Malcolm extends the Rangri Bhákha as far west as the Indus, and east as far as the frontier of Bundelcund, where, according to Ritter,|| the Bengáli tongue begins; but this is an error, for in Bundelcund, as in all the country to the Indus from the western frontier of Bengal, dialects of Hindi prevail. ¶ The Marwádi and other dialects of Rájputána are said to be little connected with one another, but it is clear that they are varieties of Hindi, introduced by the intruding Rájput races; and, on travelling through Rájputána, it strikes the most cursory observer what a small element in the population the dominant Rájput constitutes.

Hindi, according to Mr. Colebrooke, and the Serampore translators of the Bible, owes nine-tenths of its vocables to Sanskrit roots: when it is spoken by Musalmans, and enriches itself from Persian or Arabic roots, it becomes Urdu or Hindustáni, in which form Garcin de Tassy observes it is employed by all Hindu reformers, or religious innovators; but this remark seems rather to

* Lieut. Burton. Bombay Journal, vol. iii. p. 84.

† James Prinsep. Beng. As. Jour. May, 1837.

‡ Burton's Sindh, and the races inhabiting it, p. 69. London: 1851.

§ Malcolm's Central India, vol. ii. p. 191.

|| Asien, vol. vi. p. 768.

¶ See Hamilton's Hindostan, vol. i. p. 218.

apply to Hindi proper than to Hindustáni. When Hindi is spoken by Hindus, and draws on Sanskrit for enrichment or embellishment, it more appropriately deserves and bears the name Hindi; but the term is used so loosely all over India to denote the vernacular tongue of the district, that it is not easy to attribute to it a very precise signification.

Bengáli, from its well-marked geographical limits towards the west, north, and east, according with the province of Bengal,—from its being the language of at least thirty million souls,—and from the cultivation which has been given to it, well deserves the name of a distinct language, though its relation to Sanskrit is, perhaps, not other than that of so-called Hindi. According to Colebrooke*, there are but few words in Bengáli not derived from Sanskrit; and the same writer observes of Tirhuti, on its north-eastern border, that it has great affinity with Bengáli. It may, perhaps, be observed at once, that, of all the languages belonging to the Arian class, our present state of knowledge does not enable us to determine whether they are developments of some tongue, of which Sanskrit is the cultivated representative, and of which *Magadhi* or *Pali*, at the æra of As'oka and the introduction of Buddhism to Ceylon, was a spoken form, or whether Sanskrit has been superinduced upon some aboriginal tongue, as it has been demonstrably, though in much smaller quantity, upon the Tamiloid languages of the south, and as French has been introduced into Anglo-Saxon. Certain it is, that in every Arian tongue, a considerable, and apparently primitive element is found, (in Gujaráti it is reckoned at one-third of the whole language,) which is not traceable to Sanskrit.

On descending southwards, we find the Gujaráti in a sufficiently compact and characteristic form to constitute it a language, and owing its unity of character, no doubt, like the Bengáli, Urya, Maráthi, Canarese, and Tamil, to

* As. Rcs. vol. xxiii. p. 224.

an early and powerful dynasty, extending over the country where it is spoken, and of which we have ample traces in history. The dialects of Kachi and Sindhi are quite intelligible to our Gujaráti interpreters in the Supreme Court, but Kachi seems to be a transition dialect between Sindhi and Gujaráti,* and the intelligibility of these languages is probably owing to the common relation of all of them to Hindi; though, occasionally, inhabitants of those countries use a *patois* that is quite incomprehensible to a native of Gujarát. This, however, is no more than occurs amongst inhabitants of different provinces of Europe, such as Italy or France, where the language is but one. Gujaráti is bounded by the Marwádi a little to the north of Deesa, to the north and east by the Hindi or Rangri Básha of Malcolm,† in Rájputána and Malwa respectively, and in the south it dove-tails with Maráthi in the valleys of the Narbadda and Tapti, ending at *Hámp*, on the former river, and running into *Nandobár* on the latter.

The Maráthi, as I have before observed, extends further to the south than any other member of the northern family of languages; and it has one remarkable peculiarity,—it is the only language on the west coast to which the natural barrier of the Western Ghâts has opposed no obstacle to its diffusion on both sides of the range, the cause of which I apprehend to be that the Maráthas were originally a race of mountaineers, situated on the crest of the Ghâts, it is said in *Baglán*, and cultivating the fertile valleys, or *Máwals*, running to the east, as well as the eligible depths in the Konkan on their western border. Being, moreover, a martial race, the favourable isolated hills which present themselves for defence in the latter rugged region would further tempt them to descend the precipitous sides of the *Saihádri* range, and to occupy the Konkan. The country called *Mahárâshtra*, which is first mentioned in Indian history

* See Lieut. Burton's Sindh, p. 69.

† Malcolm's Central India, vol. ii. p. 191.

in the *Mahâwánsa*, probably obtained its name, and received a distinctive language from the existence of a Maratha dynasty, at some period not recorded in history. But at a comparatively recent date, I think, it clearly appears from the inscriptions translated by Walter Elliot, that the *Yádavas*, who held *Devagiri* or *Daulatabád*, A. D. 1294, when the Mussulmans first turned their arms against the south, were Maráthas and not Rájputs.*

The northern limits of Maráthi on the sea-coast are to be found in the Kolwan hills, or country of the Koles, near the Portuguese settlement of *Daman*, and it extends above the Ghâts in a north-easterly direction along the *Sátpura* range, parallel to the Narbadda.† About *Nandobár*, in the jungly valley of the Tapti, it intermingles with Gujaráti. To the eastward, its boundary has not been ascertained, but it is spoken throughout *Berár*, and in the open part of the territories of *Nágpur:* and on the whole of its eastern border it abuts on the country and language of the Gonds. From the *Nágpur* territories, Maráthi trends to the south-west, "touching in advance nearly on *Bijapur* and *Shankashwar*,"‡ and thence trends south-westerly to the coast at *Sidashaghur*, along the line marked out by Colonel Wilks and Mr. Walter Elliot as the western boundary of Canarese. From *Daman*, in the Northern Konkan, Maráthi runs down the coast both below and above the Ghâts to the neighbourhood of Goa, where it meets the language which Lassen, following his authorities Mackenzie and Ellis, calls Konkani,§ and which language runs, according to Mr. Walter Elliot, nearly as far as Mangalore,‖ but the southern limits of this mixed dialect, however, I learn from native travellers, and from the German missionaries at Mangalore, is a village four

* See W. Elliot, in Journ. Royal As. Soc. vol. iv. p. 28—30; and Briggs' Ferishta, vol. iii.

† Dr. Wilson, in *Oriental Christian Spectator*, 1848.

‡ Dr. Wilson, *ut sup.*

§ *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. i. p. 360.

‖ Journ. of As. Soc. of Bengal, Nov. 1847.

miles north of *Upi*, or Oodapee, near Coondapore, where Tulu, or the language of Canara, begins.

This Konkani dialect, however, appears to be no other than Maráthi, with a large infusion of Tulu and Canarese words, the former derived from the indigenous inhabitants of Tulava, or Canara, the latter from the long subjection of this part of the Konkan to Canarese dynasties above the Ghâts. F. Buchanan found that at Carwar, fifty-five miles to the south of Goa, "the dialect of Konkan is used, but, from having been long subject to Beejapore, almost all the inhabitants can speak Maráthi."* The fact is undoubted; but the reason given is wrong, as the vernacular language of *Bijapur* is Canarese, and not Maráthi. Konkani being the mother tongue of many numerous classes in Bombay,—amongst others of the Shenvi Bráhmans,—I requested Mr. Murphy, Chief Interpreter of the Supreme Court, to examine the language for me, and I subjoin a very interesting note of his upon it.†

The subject, however, requires a closer philological investigation than it has yet received, and I am informed by the Rev. H. Mögling, of Mangalore, that the Konkani-speaking Bráhmans of that part of the coast, where the language is vernacular, consider it quite distinct from,

* Cited in Hamilton, vol. ii. p. 262.

† "An examination of the grammar of the Konkani proves it to be decidedly that of the Maráthi language. The nouns and verbs are inflected in the same manner, with some slight modifications in the details. A general characteristic which it shares with Gujaráti and Marwári, is the adoption of *o* as the masculine termination, instead of the *á*, used in Hindi and *Maráthi* .... The Konkani explains some of the difficulties of the Maráthi: what are anomalies or defective in the latter are sometimes found normal and complete in the former. It bears the stamp of a peculiar Bráhminical influence, many Sanskrit words being in common popular use for natural objects which are not so, as far as I know, in any other part of India. These are pronounced purely by the Shenvis, but by the common Christian population (natives of Goa) are corrupted. Thus the common terms for *water*, *tree*, and *grass*, are Sanskrit: pronounced by the Shenvis, *udak*, *vriksh*, *trin*; by native Christians, *udik*, *vukh*, *tan*."—*Note by Mr. Murphy.*

though cognate with, Maráthi, and that it has an equally elaborate grammar of its own. The limits extend from Goa below the Ghâts, to the village before mentioned, north of *Upi*.

From this part of the coast in Northern Canara, a diagonal line, running in a north-east direction towards Beder, marks the boundary between Maráthi and Canarese,*—of the latter, at least, above the Ghâts. In the neighbourhood of Beder the three languages of the Bala Ghât or plateau—Telinga, Maráthi, and Canarese—are said to meet.†

The language of Orissa is the last member of the Arian or Hindi family which requires to be mentioned. The original site of the Or, or Odra tribe appears to have had very narrow limits, viz., along the coast-line from the *Rasikulia* river, near *Gánjám*, northwards to the *Bans Kans* river, near *Soro*, in latitude 21° 10′; but in the process of migration and conquest under the *Kesári*, and more especially under the *Ganga Vansa* line, the limits of Orissa (*Or-dêsa*) were extended to Midnapore and Hooghly on the north, and to Rajahmundry on the Godavery to the south.

Orissa is backed to the westward by a range of granite hills, from 300 to 2000 feet high, but attaining higher elevations in the wild and little explored regions of Gondwana, further west. At the foot of these hills, the Konkan, or plain between them and the sea, is divided into two distinct portions. On the first, beds of laterite of considerable depth run out in easy undulations to the plains, on which not a stone of the size of a pebble is to be found between the termination of the laterite and the ocean. This district is, again, bounded by a marshy woodland tract along the sea-shore, varying in breadth from five to twenty miles, and resembling the Sunderbuns of the Ganges in its innumerable winding streams,

* Colonel Mackenzie, in As. Res. vol. vii.; W. Elliot, in Journ. of Royal As. Soc. vol. iv. p. 30.

† Colonel Wilks' Historical Researches in Mysore.

swamps, tigers, and alligators. It is on the other comparatively fertile lands of the central district called the *Mogalhandi* that the civilisation and aggrandisement of the Urya race has developed itself.

The language, according to Mr. Stirling, "is a tolerably pure Básha (dialect) of Bengáli."* In the direction of Bengal it follows the coast-line as far as the Hijellee and Tumlook divisions on the Hooghly. On the western side of the Midnapore district it intermingles with Bengáli, near the river *Subanrekha*. To the westward, the Gond and Urya languages pass into each other; the Rajah of Sonnapur informing Mr. Stirling that half his people spoke the one language, half the other.†

About *Gánjám*, on the coast, the first traces of Telinga occur. The Urya still prevails, however, forty-five miles south of *Gánjám* on the lowlands of the sea-shore, beyond which Telinga begins to predominate; at Cicacole the latter is the prevailing dialect, and in Vizagapatam Telinga only is spoken in the open country, though Urya on the mountains runs further down to the south.‡

Of the Gond language, Professor Lassen, writing in 1843, says that we know absolutely nothing.§ Captain Blunt, whose interesting journey in 1795, from Benares to Rajahmundry, gives us almost all the information we possess of many parts of the interior, observes of the language, that it differs wholly from all its neighbours, Telinga, Maráthi, Urya;‖ but as Ritter observes, this is the remark of a mere traveller, not a philologist. The *jet blackness* attributed to many of the tribes, and pointed out both by Stirling and Blunt, is another example out of many to be found of the dark colour of the aborigines of India. Since Lassen wrote, however,

* Account of Orissa. As. Res. vol. xv. † Ibid.

‡ Stirling. As. Res. vol. xv. p. 206.

§ *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. i. p. 375.

‖ Narrative of a Tour from Chunarghur to Yertnagoodum, &c. As. Res. vol. vii. p. 57.

the collation of the vocabulary of the Gonds with the languages of the south would seem to leave little doubt that we may safely classify Gondi as a member of the Tamiloid family.*

At present, however, the Gondwana highlands and jungles comprise such a large district of unexplored country, that they form quite an oasis in our maps; and as the Bengáli, Maráthi, Urya, and Telinga languages all abut upon them, it is impossible to trace their respective boundary-lines with accuracy.

In dismissing the languages of the North, we may observe that their distribution and acquisition of distinctive characters appear to be owing to two causes—first, the geological features of the country over which they are spread; second, the accident of independent and powerful dynasties erecting themselves in certain localities. Thus, if the Arian race entered India at the north-west or north, and settled themselves, as all tradition indicates, in the Panjáb, and towards the valley of the Ganges, the wide plains of Hindustan, over which a buggy may be driven in the dry season for a thousand miles in every direction without a made road, would present no obstacle whatever to civilised races such as Alexander encountered, and Megasthenes describes, who were tending to diffuse their civilisation and their language. The Arian conqueror or adventurer, whichever he might be, in descending to the south, would find physical peculiarities in the country pitched upon that would either wed him to the spot, or would offer obstacles to a speedy return. Thus, those who surmounted the barren heights separating Bahar from Bengal, would feel too well pleased with the alluvial richness of the well-watered plains below them, to seek to retrace their steps; and a favourable combination of circumstances would soon raise *Gaur* into a kingdom, and Bengáli into a national tongue. The same

* See paper by Mr. Walter Elliot, in Journ. of As. Soc. of Bengal, Nov. 1847. Ditto by Mr. Hodgson, on Seven Languages of Tribes in Central India. Ibid. Dec. 1848.

train of circumstances operating on those who reached the fat lands of Gujarát, after quitting dreary Marwar, and shaking off the dust of its western desert, would soon induce them to convert their tents into houses; and the early existence of a Gujaráti kingdom fully accounts for the growth and distribution of its language. On the other hand, those who ascended the plateau of Bundelcund, or penetrated the fastnesses of Rájputána, might have been sufficiently pleased with the easy dominion they obtained over the wild indigenous *Bhils* and *Meinas*, to induce them to abandon the more fertile plains below; but as such localities gave no opportunity for extended empire, the Hindi they brought with them never grew up into a distinct language, and is only distinguishable as a *patois* from the Hindi of the plains. Whether the *Bhils* of *Rájputána* and of the *Satpura* range, the *Kolis** of the Western Ghâts, and other hill tribes in this Presidency, have retained any traces of an aboriginal language, I have never been able to ascertain; but the fact is stated broadly by Sir John Malcolm, and it is not unlikely to be correct.

The Maráthas, like the *Gujars*, were probably able, as I have suggested, to establish an extensive empire at an early period, although we have no such authentic accounts of it as we have of the dynasty established at *Anhalwára Patan*, in Gujarát; but it is not improbable that the city *Tágara*, mentioned in the Periplus, was a Marátha capital. Now, as these two dynasties came into contact in the Gulf of Cambay, it is instructive to observe the point at which the Gujaráti and Maráthi languages divide. On looking at the map, it is difficult to understand why Gujarát should turn the corner of the Gulf of Cambay, or, at all events, why it should descend

* The Ramusis of the Bombay Ghâts have immigrated from Telingana within a recent period, and though they have adopted Maráthi, they preserve a few terms of their original Telinga for purposes of crime, &c. See Captain Mackintosh's Account of the Ramoosies. Bombay, 1833.

the coast, and cross the rivers Narbadda and Tapti. But, on visiting the country, the physical features of the land, and the characters of the two races, explain the phenomenon at once. The *Gujars* are excellent cultivators,* and the country they inhabit is a fine plain of alluvial loam, in many parts forty feet deep, and though composed of granites from the Aravalli range, quartz from the Méwar hills, and sandstone and trap from the Malwa plateau, so worn down in the whole alluvium by the gradual descent from the highlands, that, as in the Orissan *Mogalhandi*, not a pebble is left in the country to scare a crow withal. The Maráthas, on the other hand, are essentially mountaineers, herdsmen, and soldiers, but bad farmers. As, then, the black soil of Gujarát descends the coast as far as *Daman* to the foot of the *Kolwan* Hills, where Kole Rajahs still hold their rustic court, the *Gujars* naturally follow the course of the soil they knew so well how to till, whilst the Maráthas clung to their more congenial hills.

If we now approach the Tamiloid languages of the south, we shall find that similar geological causes and dynastic influences have governed their distribution.

On taking up the point at the east coast, where we left the Urya-speaking races extending themselves to the southwards, the Telinga language begins somewhere about *Gánjám*, though Urya seems extending itself southwards. At Vizagapatam, which is 120 miles further south, Mr. Stirling states that Telinga is exclusively spoken. Formerly the limits of the language along the coast appear to have extended further to the north, and in the south they reach to the neighbourhood of the Pulicat lake, near Madras. On this coast two Telinga monarchies

* The race are no longer known by name in Gujarát; but they are well known as the best cultivators in the N. W. Provinces. See *ad vocem* that most instructive work for Indian customs—Sir Henry Elliot's *Glossary of Indian Terms;* and the field of Gujarát, on which the last battle with the Seikhs was fought, points out the wide diffusion of the race.

formerly existed, the *Andhra* and the *Kalinga*,* both, apparently, enterprising races, and seafaring people, although pious Hindus. The Hindu conqueror of Ceylon, (*Vijaya Wála*, the Conqueror,) who about 500 years B. C. invaded the island, probably proceeded from this part of the coast,† as the *Mahawanso* makes mention of an *Andhra* princess, who, after living in the jungles of Lada (?) intermarried with a lion, (Singh,) and was ultimately the grandmother of *Vijaya*. The *Kalinga* dynasty appears subsequently to have gained great possessions on the plateau above the Ghâts, and, at the period of the Mahomedan conquest, Warangol, seventy miles N.E. of Hydrabad, was considered the capital of what the Mussulmans call Telingana. A great portion of the Nizam's dominions, the districts of Cuddapah and Bellary, and the coast-line I have before described, are occupied by Telugu-speaking people.‡ Towards the lower part of the course of the Godavery, Captain Blunt found that river to be the boundary-line between the Gond and Telinga languages.§

The Tamil language, according to Hamilton,‖ is "principally spoken in the tract from the south of Telingana to Cape Comorin, and from the Coast of Coromandel to the great range of hills, including great part of the Baramahal, Salem, and the country to Coimbatore." This, however, is a very indefinite description, as it does not appear whether he means the eastern or western hills; and from Colonel Mackenzie, and Mr. Elliot, who are the two best authorities on Canarese, the latter language appears to be well rooted in Coimbatore. Tamil was the language of three Hindu dynasties of whom we have records. The Cholas of Tanjore and Combuconam, who were settled on or near the Cáveri and

* Walter Elliot, in Journ. of Royal As. Soc. vol. iv.

† Lasson, however, thinks that *Vijaya* and his 700 followers proceeded from Gujarát. *Indische Alterthumskunde*, vol. i. p. 199.

‡ Hamilton, vol. ii. p. 121. § As. Res. vol. vii. p. 57.

‖ Hamilton's Hindustan, vol. ii. p. 248.

Coleroon rivers, and who gave their name to the Coromandel, or Cholamandel Coast,* the Pandyans, whose capital is now occupied by the inhabitants of Madura, and the Cherans, who ruled at *Kerála* on the Malabar Coast. According to Mr. Taylor, Tamil was cultivated in its greatest purity in the ancient Pandyan kingdom, and in the opinion of that very competent judge, "the result of a process, not very dissimilar to that which the early Saxon has undergone, [viz., copious infusions from a foreign tongue,] is to render the Tamil language, like our native English, one of the most copious, refined, and polished languages spoken by man."† The examination of a good map will explain the easy diffusion of Tamil over the rich delta of the Cáveri, and over the lowlands at the foot of the peninsula as far as the spring of the stupendous Western Ghâts that end at Cape Comorin, and even up to their very summit on the *Ani-Malaya* range; and the gradual ascent of the Eastern Ghâts from the Coromandel Coast explains readily how the Tamil-speaking *down-easters* and conquerors from that coast surmounted the plateau, where, like their northern neighbours of *Kalinga*, they have permanently implanted both their race and language. The Tamulians are a pushing, enterprising race, and as will be seen presently, the Tamil language appears to be extirpating Malayálam. The two languages dovetail without coalescing in the lowlands at the great gap of the Western Ghâts, and Tamil is also found to the westward of Cape Comorin, on the coast, for example, at Travancore, the ancient capital of the Rajahs.

The limits of the Canarese are the most distinct in geological relations of any we have yet spoken of. It is essentially a plateau language. The ancient Hindu term *Karnátaka* comprehended all the high table-land in the

* Paolini, the Carmelite, explains Chola-mandala to mean the middle country; but most scholars interpret it the country of the Cholas.

† Preface to Rottler's Tamil Dictionary.

south of India above the Eastern and Western Ghâts, but, by a strange fatality, as Hamilton observes,* this country has not only lost its proper designation, but the latter has been transferred to the Carnatic, on one coast, and to Canara on the other, in neither of which is the Canarese language strictly vernacular. So, also, the Carnatic dynasties, so far as we know from history, or rather from inscriptions, never held sway below the Ghâts. Hamilton's general description of its limits seems correct enough: "The common Canara Kárnátaca character and language are used by the natives of those countries from Coimbatore, north to Balky, near Beeder, and within the parallel of the Eastern Ghâts to the Western." † Mr. W. Elliot, who was for some years stationed at Dharwar, draws its boundary-line W. and N. by a "line from Sádashagur on the Malabar Coast to the westward of Dharwar, Belgaum, and Hukairi, through Kagal and Kurandwar, passing between Kelingaon and Pandegaon, through Brahmapuri on the Bhima, and Sholapur, and thence east to the neighbourhood of Bider. From Sádashagur, following the southern boundary of *Sunda* to the top of the Western Ghâts, it comprehends the whole of Mysore as (far as) Coimbatúr, and the line of Eastern Ghâts—including much of the *Chola* and *Belála* kingdoms, and even *Dwara Samudra*, the capital of the latter, which was never captured by the *Chalukyas*" (*i. e.* the Carnatic dynasty of Kalyani).‡ I have before shown, however, that Canarese extends much further to the north than Mr. Elliot's boundary indicates: it was the language of business of the *Adil-shahy* dynasty at Bijapur, who introduced it, to the exclusion of the court language, Persian; § and throughout the whole of the Belgaum and Dharwar collectorates it is the vernacular language, although, strangely enough, on the establishment of schools by the Bombay Government in that

* Hindustan, vol. ii. p. 247. † Ibid.
‡ Journ. Royal As. Soc. vol. iv. pp. 3, 4.
§ Briggs' Ferishta, vol. iii.

district in 1840, the Canarese population stoutly resisted instruction being conveyed to their children in their mother-tongue, and pleaded for Maráthi.* In the south, also, towards Coimbatore, I apprehend that Tamil dovetails intricately with Canarese, as Maráthi does in the north, and Telinga in the north-east. I find in a report of the Collector of Coimbatore to the Madras Government, that there are 846 schools in that collectorate, "in which the children are taught Tamil, Teloogoo, Hindivee, (Canarese,) and other (?) native languages." †

Of the Malayálam and Tulu languages I have little to say, except that they each of them appear to be in a course of gradual extinction. They are essentially *Konkany* languages, if I may be permitted the use of such a word (much wanted in geography) to describe a country lying at the foot of a chain of mountains running parallel to the sea, and intercepted between the two, and of which the Bombay Konkan is a good type. Malayálam extends from Cape Comorin to the Chandagiri river, or, more strictly, perhaps, to Nileshwar (*Nileswara*), where a Nair Rajah, conquered by Hyder, formerly ruled.‡ We have seen that a rude Tamil dialect is spoken on the tops of the Western Ghâts, from the great gap to Cape Comorin; and the language seems gaining upon and extirpating Malayálam, both to the north and south. For Tamil, advancing from the west through that singular

* This feeling might be accounted for amongst those who were training their sons for government offices, as Maráthi, under the Peshwa, was the language of public business; but it was altered by the British Government in 1836 to Canarese: the feeling, however, was equally strong amongst the *Lingayat* traders, who are very numerous in those parts. Thus, the Superintendent of Schools, Assistant Professor *Bál Shástri*, reported, in 1845, of a school near Belgaum;—"Several of the Lingayat children, who understand not a word of Maráthi, would yet insist upon learning nothing but reading and writing that language." Much evidence on the subject is to be found in the Reports of the Board of Education.

† Madras Almanac for 1834, Appendix, p. 24.

‡ F. Buchanan's Mysore, vol. iii. p. 12.

break in the mountains, having no physical obstacles to encounter, is found pushing its way onward to the west of Palghat; and Palghat itself is more a Tamil than a Malayálam town. The Malayáli is said naturally to shrink from contact with foreigners,—even from people of his own caste,—whilst the Tamulian is the least scrupulous of all Hindus. Hence the Malayáli retreats from the great roads, from cities and bazars, as eagerly as the Tamil flocks to them; and the former race are to be found isolated with their families in their high-walled *parambus*, even in parts where the lines and centres of communication are entirely occupied by their more enterprising eastern neighbours.*

Tulu is the language spoken in the very limited district extending from the northern limits of Malayálam at the *Nileswara* river, lat. 12° 10′ N., to the *Bhaháva*ra river, four miles north of *Upi*, 13° 30′. It is broken in upon by many languages, both north and south, and appears to be in a state of progressive decay. To the humbler classes at Mangalore, and within the limits described, the German missionaries find it is the only language in which they can make themselves intelligible, though they preach in Canarese to the upper classes; and it ascends, as we have seen, in an archaic form, to the top of the mountains in Coorg, 6000 feet high. It is stated, also, that in many parts of Canara Canarese is vernacular;† and the Rev. H. Mögling, who, with his brethren of the Basle Mission, has paid much attention to this language, informs me that it may be considered vernacular from Cunderpore (*Kundapura*) to Honore (*Honavera*), where Konkani begins. But I am inclined to doubt whether Canarese is strictly vernacular anywhere along the coast, except amongst immigrants. It is the mother-tongue, for example, of the *Haiga* Bráhmans, whose principal station is at *Kalyánapura*, a village four miles north of *Upi*, although by race they belong to the

* MSS. information from German Missionaries.

† Paolini Viaggio alle Indie Orientali, p. 262.

northern, or *Gaur* Bráhmans; and so long back as 1803, F. Buchanan found that all natives of rank spoke it, from the country having been subjected for centuries to princes above the Ghâts.* Canarese is now, also, the language of the British government in this province, and, therefore, a still greater impetus is given to its diffusion, so that it may be anticipated it will become vernacular at no very distant day.

In taking a parting glance at the Malabar Coast,—the Pirate Coast—the Pepper Coast, as it has been alternately called,—the country of the Zamorin—of the exploits of Vascode Gama, and of the even more heroic efforts of St. Francis Xavier,—a country where the richest gifts of nature spontaneously present themselves, and primeval forests, tenanted by wild elephants, and almost equally wild races of men, still cumber the earth, —a land of singular physical formation, and peopled by not less singular races,—Nairs, Bunts, Moplahs, Kolis, White Jews, Nestorian Christians,—all affording so many points of European interest,—we may note, as pertinent to the present inquiry, that from the Gulf of Cambay to Cape Comorin, in the narrow strip between the mountains and the sea, the following languages are vernacular:— Gujaráti, Maráthi, Hindustáni (amongst the Konkani Musalmans), Konkani, Canarese, Tulu, Malayálam, and Tamil. So much influence on language has the physical face of a country.

* Mysore, vol. iii. p. 103.

CHAPTER XLI.

ON THE DEMAND FOR A LINGUA FRANCA IN INDIA; ADVANTAGES OF ENGLISH FOR THE PURPOSE.

After having thus taken what I trust will appear a sufficiently accurate view of the lingual state of British India, the question naturally arises whether anything can be done, by the exertion of human forethought and prevision, to facilitate a closer intercourse, and greater diffusion of ideas, amongst our Indian fellow-subjects, who are now immured in so many isolated and distinct language-groups. To solve this problem, it is necessary to consult, carefully, the page of history; and, fortunately, the vicissitudes of race and of empire which have occurred in Europe during the last two thousand years, and the accurate records we possess of the events of this period, enable us to apply our experience to the field of Asia with advantage.

On a cursory view, nothing would appear more immutable than language; and some of the phenomena connected with the subject which first strike the eye would seem to warrant the same conclusion. The mother-tongue, learnt, not taught, in early infancy, though subject, like a plant, to the laws of growth and spontaneous development, would seem, in its staple, to be proof against any invasion from without, either by a foreign stranger, or even by a neighbour. We may see in this Presidency, for example, Canarese and Maráthi villages lying grouped together on the same plain, and co-existing for a thousand, perhaps thousands of years, yet without any considerable intermixture of their languages. Each village, strong in its own organisation,

with its three estates of hereditary officers, established clergy, and faithful commons, wants nothing from its neighbour; and the only point of communication on which they ever need to meet, is on some grazing-ground adjoining their common border, which, so far from bringing them into amicable intercourse, may give birth to differences, lasting, like a German lawsuit, for hundreds of years. So, also, in the Swiss villages, spoken of by the historian of Switzerland, where the French and German races meet, if the stock of each is sufficiently large to enable the social business of life to go on—the marrying and giving in marriage, the eating and drinking, the lessons of the school and the ministrations at the altar—without dependence on the other, then the barriers interposed by different tongues—the small differences, which in small minds and small places create mutual repugnance—keep the languages and the races distinct for countless generations. But if any cause, either political or commercial, occur to throw adjoining nations or races into a state of fusion, it is remarkable to observe how speedily an instrument of intercourse springs up, and what great and rapid changes of language ensue. Frequently, by a mere spontaneous movement or tacit convention, nations with different tongues, who have common interests to discuss, seize on some one language, which becomes the medium of intercourse, and is subsequently employed by many different races. Thus, the language spoken by the Genoese and Venetian traders, when they were seeking the commerce of the East in the ports of the Levant and the Black Sea, was soon learnt by the Asiatic inhabitants of those countries; and other European merchants speedily adopting the tongue of their commercial rivals, a language of the Franks, or *lingua Franca*, arose, which Asiatics and Europeans both made themselves masters of, and which continues to this day. Hindustáni, as spoken in Bombay amongst Persian, Marátha, Gujaráti, and other inhabitants of the island, with distinct mother-tongues, is another example. The

use of Malay among the many hundred languages of the Indian Archipelago, where, we are told by a quaint old voyager, it is "epidemick,"* is a still more striking instance of the same kind.

But it has been by the direct action of government that the more remarkable changes in the languages of different nations have been effected. The historian Niebuhr, in commenting on the rapid process by which the Etruscans succeeded in imposing their language on the inhabitants of ancient Italy, which was then cut up into more distinct tongues than those now spoken in the peninsula of India, supplies a number of parallel cases from his historical stores, and the passage is worth transcribing:—

"Under the rule of a conquering nation which imposes a heavy yoke on the conquered, the language of the latter frequently becomes extinct: in Asia and many other countries, it was the practice to forbid the use of the vernacular tongue, in order to prevent treachery. The Moors were, in many respects, mild rulers in Spain, and the country flourished under them; but in Andalusia, one of their kings forbade the Christians to use the Latin language, under penalty of death; the consequence of which was, that a hundred years later not a trace of it occurs. The whole Christian population of Cæsarea spoke Greek down to the eighteenth century, when a Pasha prohibited it, and, after the lapse of thirty or forty years, when my father visited the place, not one of the inhabitants understood Greek. When the Normans conquered Sicily, the only languages spoken in the island were Greek and Arabic, and the laws were written in Greek as late as the time of Frederic II., but afterwards it disappears all at once. The same thing happens in Terra di Leca and Terra di Otranto, where afterwards the names were Italian, while the language of common life remained Greek until two hundred years ago, in the fifteenth century, it died away. In Pomerania and Mecklenburg, the Wendic language disappeared

* Herbert's Travels, p. 366.

within a few generations, and that without an immigration of Germans, but merely because the princes were partial to the German language: the conquerors of Brandenburg forbade the use of Wendic under penalty of death, and in a short time nothing was spoken but low German. The Etruscans had quite an aristocratic constitution, and lived in the midst of a large subject country; under such circumstances it must have been of great importance to them to make their subjects adopt the Etruscan language."*

But the subsequent success of the Romans in supplanting Etruscan, and fixing the Latin language deep in the soil, not only of Italy, but of Spain and France, is a more remarkable case than any recorded by Niebuhr, and deserves, perhaps, a closer attention by scholars than has yet been given to it. Take, for example, the case of France:—At the time of Cæsar's conquest, the language was Gaelic, spoken in three different dialects,† and the country that was able to hold that great general at bay for nine years must have been tolerably thickly peopled. How, then, was the Celtic tongue so thoroughly extirpated? There is no appearance that the Romans colonised France in any great numbers, or that there was any temptation offered to them to settle. The question becomes more difficult to answer when we recollect the subsequent immigration and conquests of the Franks and other German races. Meyer assures us, (though it appears to me doubtful as to any but the dominant race,) that up to the end of the eighth century, "il est certain que pendant tout ce temps et un bien plus long encore, le commun de la nation ne parlait qu'une langue d'origine tudesque."‡ Dr. Young, also,

* Lectures on the History of Rome, translated by Schmitz. London: 1848.

† Sir James Stephen's Lectures on the History of France. London: 1852.

‡ Institutions Judiciaires de l'Europe, vol. i. p. 293. Notwithstanding the high authority due to M. Meyer, this statement is very doubtful. According to Sismondi (Histoire des Français, i. 52), the

states that the inhabitants spoke Gaelic till the sixth or seventh century, when it was superseded by Rustic Roman.* Here, then, if Meyer is correct, we have the bulk of the nations changing their language from Celtic to Teutonic, and from the latter to that modification of the Roman which subsequently became French; but certainly the change from Gaelic to French was universal.

Some authorities, quoted by Michelet,† would seem to show that it was an established principle of policy with those great masters of political government, the Romans, to introduce their language whenever they could, as an instrument of police. St. Augustine states, that the "Imperial City" took pains to impose her language as well as her authority on her conquered dependencies, for the sake of good order (*per pacem societatis*).‡ The Roman Digest laid down expressly that the judges of the empire were to deliver their decrees in Latin,§ and *Valerius Maximus* points out both the fine statesmanlike policy which dictated these ordinances, and the steady Roman consistency (*magna perseverantia*) with which they were adhered to. It does not seem, therefore, very hazardous

three Celtic dialects spoken in the time of Cæsar had given way to Latin, by the fourth century after Christ; and, although the conquests of the Franks carried a Teutonic language all over France, and it became the language of the army and of business, so that all men in office, whose mother-tongue was Latin, were compelled to learn it (Sismondi, iii. 58), still, the small number of Frankish nobles amongst whom the territories of France were divided, and who in numbers have been compared to English squires of the present day, forbids us to believe that the "bulk of the people" ever spoke a Teutonic dialect. Indeed, we know that Charlemagne, whose mother-tongue was German, used to avoid Paris as a residence, expressly because the language was the to him unintelligible *patois* of Latin, subsequently to become French. And it is remarkable how very slight an impression the German language has made upon the French, although the Franks in France were more numerous than the Normans in England.

* Encyclopædia Britannica, Art. Language.

† Histoire de France, vol. i. p. 135.

‡ De Civ. Dei, lib. xix. c. 7.

§ Dig. xlii. i. 48: *Decreta a prætoribus Latine interponi debent.*

to attribute the existence of the French, Spanish, and Italian languages, in their respective countries, to the direct institutions of Roman policy, operating at a long period after the original impulse given by government.

Another example of the influence of the governing authorities upon the language of the people may be taken from England. I will pass over the supplanting of Celtic by the tongue of the Anglo-Saxons, although that, also, is a very remarkable fact, and not at all to be explained by the usual hypothesis put forward. But on looking at the language of England from the date of the Norman Conquest, it would appear that, during the first three centuries there were many periods when it seemed quite uncertain whether Anglo-Saxon or Norman French would become the language of the country. So late as the end of the fourteenth century, the latter was the language of the court, of the nobility—of every one who possessed or sought either power or place. An old monkish writer cited by Thierry * avers that even peasants, in order to appear more *respectable* (that conventional respectability so dearly cherished by the English race), affected to talk French with all their might and main (*omni nisu*); and many circumstances seemed favourable for the introduction of the French language during this epoch. The facility of that language to diffuse itself is seen by the readiness with which the Normans abandoned their mother-tongue in so short a period as fifty years after they settled in France,† and, further, in its gradual extension over many countries on the French border where tongues of German origin formerly prevailed. But in England other causes were at hand to render its extension more easy. The numerous

* Conquête de l'Angleterre, vol. iv. p. 371, 4me éd.

† Within one century of the establishment of the Normans in France, the Danish language had become extinct. "A Rouen même, et dans le palais des successeurs de Rou, on ne parlait d'autre langue au commencement du onzième siècle, que la langue romane ou française." Thierry, Hist. du Conquête de l'Angleterre, vol. i. p. 209.

Teutonic races who had invaded England—the Angles, Saxons, Jutes, Picts, &c.—had all dialects—some distinct languages of their own; with all these was incorporated the Celtic tongue of the original occupiers of the soil; and the result was such a diversity of speech throughout the realm, that it was very difficult for the inhabitant of one province to understand the dialect of another. Chaucer, notwithstanding his bold and patriotic attempt to address his countrymen in English, seems to have been apprehensive that his volume would not be understood out of London, for he thus apostrophises it:—

> "Read where so thou be or els sung,
> That thou beest understood God I beseech."

Happily, the Teutonic element has maintained its supremacy in the language of England, but the influence and, I may add, beneficial influence, of the Norman dynasty, over the speech of their subjects, may be seen in this, that French still constitutes one-sixth part of the language of the Anglo-Saxon race.

But the most remarkable example in history of the direct agency of government in introducing a common tongue as an instrument of civilisation, is furnished from South America. Mr. Prescott, in relating the policy of the Incas, writes as follows:—

"Another expedient was of a bolder and more original character. This was nothing less than to revolutionise the language of the country. South America, like North, was broken up into a great variety of dialects, or rather languages, having little affinity with one another. This circumstance occasioned great embarrassment to the government in the administration of the different provinces, with whose idioms they were unacquainted. It was determined, therefore, to substitute one universal language—the Quichua—the language of the court, the capital, and the surrounding country,—the richest and most comprehensive of the South American dialects.

Teachers were provided in the towns and villages throughout the land, who were to give instruction to all, even the humblest classes; and it was intimated at the same time, that no one should be raised to any office of dignity or profit who was unacquainted with this tongue. The Curacas, and other chiefs, who attended at the capital, became familiar with this dialect in their intercourse with the court, and, on their return home, set the example of conversing in it among themselves.

"This example was imitated by their followers, and the Quichua gradually became the language of elegance and fashion, in the same manner as the Norman French was affected by all those who aspired to any consideration in England after the conquest. By this means, while each province retained its peculiar tongue, a beautiful medium of communication was introduced, which enabled the inhabitants of one part of the country to hold intercourse with every other, and the Inca and his deputies to communicate with all. This was the state of things on the arrival of the Spaniards. It must be admitted, that history furnishes few examples of more absolute authority than such a revolution in the language of an empire, at the bidding of a master." *

It was on considerations such as I have stated above, but the grounds of which I have now set forth in detail, that I ventured some years ago to throw out the following suggestion:—"It is obvious that India is greatly in need of a *lingua franca*, such as French affords in Europe, Italian in the Levant, and Malay amongst the hundreds of different languages of the Indian Archipelago.† Hindustáni supplies the office in many parts of India to the northward of a diagonal line between Bombay and the Bay of Bengal, but even there imperfectly, as we find the Urdu publications of the north-west almost wholly unintelligible in our Hindustáni schools of Bombay; and in the south of India a language of a wholly different

* Prescott's Conquest of Peru, vol. i. p. 73.

† See W. Von Humboldt's work on the Kawi language of Java.

family, the Tamil, supplies the place of Hindustáni. The English language, therefore, with its uniform written and printed character, and its rich and cheap literature, might gradually assume the beneficial office of a language of intercommunication between different nations, such as we have seen has sprung up spontaneously in divers parts of the world." *

The spontaneous movement in favour of English, which I there alluded to, may even now be seen to be in operation in various parts of India. It will be familiar to most of those who hear me, that the natives of Bombay who are acquainted with English, rarely communicate with one another in writing except in that language. The defective nature of the native cursive character, the *mod* or *mor* of the Maráthi—indeed of most native writing, in which the tendency to leave out vowel-points is so general,† leads, no doubt from the dictates of convenience, to the employment of the more distinct and uniform English character. But, for speaking also, if an educated native at the present day arrives from Upper India, from Bengal, or from Madras, there is no language in which he can make himself so readily intelligible to an educated native of Bombay as English; and it is the only language which a native would think of employing if he were writing to a Bengáli friend at Calcutta, or to a Tamil at Madras. In addition to this use of English which mutual convenience dictates, something of the same principle, which led the Anglo-Saxons to affect the French language as a mark of education and refinement, may be seen largely at work amongst our educated native youth, both at Bombay and in Bengal.

It is the observation of slight indications such as these that should suggest to the legislator how far he may

* Minute on the State and Prospects of Education in Bombay.

† Lieut. Burton, who is a wit as well as a philologist, thus describes the written language of the Sindhian Banyans:—"A system of stenography which admits none but initial vowels, and confounds the appearance of nearly a dozen distinct consonants."—*Scinde, or the Unhappy Valley*, vol. i. p. 239.

himself in his proper province with effect. A saying is attributed to Augustus, that with all the power of the Roman *empire* he could not succeed in introducing a new word into the Latin language; and our Indian experience may teach us how futile the acts of legislation frequently are, when they clash with old-established habits and prejudices. But when the interests of mankind, or of a large portion of mankind, are concerned, the statesman who is able to discern the tendency of his age may be able to introduce great changes without difficulty, and to make an indelible impression on the character of the people over whom he is placed as a ruler. No one, I presume, would imagine that an enactment, even under the penalty of death, that Marwádi traders should keep their accounts in English, and write to one another in round German text, would be anything but inoperative; but a government regulation that every candidate for office should be able to pass an examination in English would, in the course of a year or two, fill every cutcherry throughout India with well-qualified candidates (*umedwárs*), who would cheerfully bring themselves up to the required standard. Above all, the language of public business in every country should be the language of the governing authority. It is a surrender of an instrument of power to forego the use of the mother-tongue on all solemn occasions, when so much depends on the exact meaning of the words employed, more especially in a country like India, where the languages are so diverse, and where everything is recorded. So well is this understood in Europe, that the French language, which was formerly used by convention (in succession to Latin) as the language of diplomacy, is now abandoned in all solemn memorials, and each nation expresses itself in its own tongue. The Moguls in India maintained Persian as the language of business; and the deep root which the study of that language has thereupon struck in the habits and customs of the inhabitants of Upper India may be clearly seen in the statistical accounts.

of the North-west Provinces, published by the present Lieutenant Governor, Mr. Thomason, and is another example of the great influence exercised by government over speech. The Maráthas, in like manner, introduced their own language as the language of business; and I have above pointed out the tendency of this institution to attract attention to the language amongst the Canarese speaking subjects of the Marátha empire. The British Government has very wisely abandoned the use of the Persian language, which is neither the mother-tongue of the governing body nor of the people; but in failing to substitute English as the language of record, they have voluntarily interposed an obstacle to the introduction of good government, and have possibly benefited no one by the act.

But these are topics which it would be unsuitable to press further on a literary society. There are subjects, however, in which the interests of literature are so blended with political considerations, that it is impossible to sever them; and language, especially language in India, belongs to this class. In dealing with any question in which the interests of a hundred and forty millions of mankind are concerned, the more attentively the state of present circumstances is considered, so much the more forcibly do visions of the future present themselves. At no previous period of the world's history was India ever held together by such a unity of sway as at the present moment; and at no previous period were large views, embracing her future welfare, so capable of being applied. To the British in India is committed the task of communicating the civilisation, the results of science, and the mental energy continually aiming at improvement, which distinguish modern Europe; and in a society like this, composed of Englishmen, and of men of letters, it may fairly be asked whether any such instrument presents itself for accomplishing these noble ends, as the English language? It is not given to man to penetrate deeply the misty future, and it is impossible to predict what the

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